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The
Karaites Literary Opponents
of Saadiah Gaon

BY
SAMUEL POZNAŃSKI, PH.D.

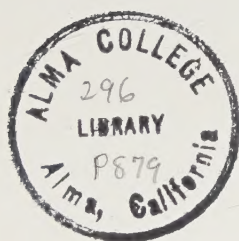
LONDON
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DEDICATED
TO MY BELOVED BROTHER
ADOLPH
THE AUTHOR OF "SCHILOH"

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THE KARAITE LITERARY OPPONENTS OF SAADIAH GAON

THE literary campaign that Saadiah, first among the Rabbanites, started against the Karaites, and whose external history I have on a former occasion attempted to trace¹, found the foe ready to join battle. There arose a complete array of Karaite scholars, who, either in special writings, or incidentally in the course of their works, repelled the attacks of Saadiah with energy. But they were not content to remain on the defensive. They speedily assumed an offensive attitude, and endeavoured, with varying degrees of success, to overthrow the arguments and proofs advanced by Saadiah in support of the Oral Law. A disagreeable element in the campaign is the personal abuse into which the controversy often degenerated: objective treatises are marred by regrettable recrimination. It must, however, be admitted that in this respect both parties sinned, although perhaps the Karaites sinned the more deeply.

The controversy initiated by Saadiah's activity did not cease with his death. It was not confined to the Gaon alone, but drew within its range the whole of Rabbinism. Henceforth polemics form a principal feature of Karaite

¹ *J. Q. R.*, X, 238-76. For Addenda and Corrigenda to that essay see end of the present dissertation (pp. 94-101).

literature: they inspire Karaism with fresh life, and stimulate the development of its literature in a very great measure. In truth, the polemical element existed in the very nature of Karaism. The latter was a product of opposition and revolt against the principles of Rabbinism, and hence its progress depended upon strife. Personal attacks were not unknown even in its very early days, for 'Anân is said to have prescribed the reading on every New Moon of Psalm lxxiv, because, in his opinion, there was an allusion, especially in verses 4 and 8, against the Rabbanites¹. Still, polemics play a very small part in the oldest writings of the Karaites, which, by the way, are still accessible only to a very small extent. It was not till the advent of Saadiah that their polemics assumed a tone of bitterness and occupied the most prominent place in their literary activity, and in the centre of the controversial medley was the figure of the Gaon. I now propose giving a bibliographical survey of this literature down to modern times. In the first place, it must be observed that the practice of the Karaites to repeat one another consciously, and often to copy one another verbally, is pursued to a still greater degree in their polemical treatises. The controversy carried on against the Rabbanites in general and against Saadiah in particular was for them a necessary of life, upon which they continuously drew as their main resource. Hence, even at a time when all spiritual life in their midst had been stifled, they still roused themselves, and brought forth their rusty weapons to attack the execrated Fayyumite.

A brief survey of the earliest Karaite controversy directed against Saadiah is given by Sahl b. Maṣliāḥ in his polemical work *תוכחת מנולה*². We there read: *והספרים אשר כתב* . . .

¹ Another statement of 'Anân, reported by Moses Taku, most probably belongs to the realm of legend. 'Anân is said to have wished that he could contain within himself all the learned Rabbis, so that by a single stroke of the sword he might be able to slay them all with himself. See *R. É. J.*, XLV, 201-2.

² Communicated by Steinschneider, *Catal. Lugd.*, p. 403, and Pinsker, *ליקוטי קדמוניות*, p. 37. The variants are unimportant.

(ר"ל סעדיה) לא הוציאם בחייו מתחת ידו על בני מקרא ואחד מהם נפל ביד בן משיח והשיב עליו בחייו וכן שלמון בן ירוחם השיב עליו בלשון הקדש על אשר כתב אשא משלי ואמר ואחרי מותו נפלו ספריו ביד בני מקרא בכל מקום ומקום וישבו עליהן תשובות בדברים נכוחים כמסמרות נטועים בספרים הרבה כמו שעשה אבו אלמייב הנודע אלגבלי וכן עלי בן חסון וכן בן משיח וכן ירוחם הנודע בן רוחים ואבו עלי חסן אלבצרי "The writings that Saadiah composed against the Karaites did not leave his possession throughout his life. But one work fell into the hands of Ben Mashiah, and he replied to it during Saadiah's lifetime. Similarly Salmon b. Jeroham wrote against him in Hebrew and refuted his statement, beginning with the words ¹אשא משלי ואמר. But not until the death of Saadiah did his writings fall into the hands of the Karaites in various places, and give rise to a multitude of convincing arguments in a number of works. Among the authors of the latter were Abu-l-Tajjib, known as al-Jebeli, 'Ali b. Hasan, Ben Mashiah, Ben Jeroham, known as Ibn Ruheim, Abu 'Ali Hasan al-Basri, and others. I also have written a reply against his contentions," &c.

But this list is not complete. We miss, for example, of Saadiah's contemporaries, so important a writer as Qir-qisâni; and even granting that Sahl mentions only those who composed special polemical treatises against the Gaon, we still miss Isaac b. 'Ali, &c. But what sense is there in the assertion that Saadiah throughout his life did not publish his polemical writings against the Karaites? He did not compose them for purely literary purposes, but wished by their means to counteract the increasing propaganda of the Karaites. Hence, had he suppressed his writings his intention would have been quite frustrated. The statements of Sahl are therefore to be treated with

¹ A chapter of Salmon's controversial work actually begins with the words (Pinsker, p. 18) : . . . והכמה אברה מן האומר : אורת סעדיה רבתי שרודה . . . על אשר כתב אשא משלי ואחורה וכו' ואחורה.

caution. His order, too, I would rather not follow, but propose to give in chronological sequence all the Karaite literary opponents of Saadiah known to me, including also those who only indulged in occasional controversy against him. In any case, this sequence cannot be quite exact, inasmuch as there are no data respecting the lives of many Karaite authors, or the data extant are much confused and mutually contradictory, or, finally, they are fabricated intentionally. In order to make this survey clear, therefore, I shall enumerate these authors according to the centuries in which they lived.

TENTH CENTURY.

1. Ben Zuṭa (or Ziṭa). This otherwise little known Karaite, whose full name was Abu-l-Surri¹ b. Z., probably lived in Egypt, and disputed with Saadiah only by word of mouth, so that, strictly speaking, he does not belong to the *literary* opponents. If he did live in Egypt, he must have disputed with Saadiah whilst the latter was still very young. The substance of his polemical utterances, which are only known from references in Ibn Ezra, has already been fully dealt with in my *Miscellen über Saadja*, II², to which the reader may be referred.

2. Ibn Saqaweihi (or Saqtje), one of the oldest Karaite authors, about whose personality we likewise know nothing³. He composed an anti-rabbinical work bearing the title כְּתָב אֵלֶּפְתָּוִיחַ, "Book of Shameful Things" (i. e. of the Rabbanites), which consisted of the following ten sections :

¹ As Steinschneider rightly remarks (*Z. f. H. B.*, VI, 184), אלסרי can only correspond to the Arabic السري. But then it must be transcribed al-Surri (and not, as hitherto, al-Sari), see Sujuti, "De nominibus relativis ed. Veth.," p. 136: السري بالضم والتشديد الى سُرْقِيَةِ بالسَّيِّ. In *Jew. Encycl.*, V, 105 a, ben Z. has the forename "Eleazar"!

² *Monatsschrift*, XLI, 203-12. Cf. also *J. Q. R.*, X, 256, and *R. E. J.*, loc. cit., 193-4.

³ See Steinschneider, *Die arab. Liter. d. Juden*, pp. 45 and 281, no. 56 (also my *Zur jüdisch-arabischen Litteratur*, Berlin, 1904, p. 40).

(1) on the unity of God¹; (2) on a branch of the Sabbath laws, viz. the kindling of lights; (3) on another branch of these laws, viz. on presents (or, on irrigation on Sabbath); (4) on the determination of the New Moon; (5) on the rule לא בר"ץ פסח (hence on the validity of *Dehijot*); (6) on leap-year; (7) on the prescriptions respecting forbidden fat; (8) on forbidden degrees of relationship; (9) on the prescriptions respecting menstruation; and (10) on pollution (בעל קרי). This work was preceded, by way of introduction, by a polemic against the Mishna, in which it was shown that the latter cannot be of divine origin. Ibn Sâqaweihi maintained therein, with regard to the subject-matter of the first four chapters, that the later Rabbis had erred in equal measure with the earlier ones; and with regard to the remaining six chapters, he was of opinion that here the later Rabbis had deviated from the earlier ones, and he sought to confirm this by proofs from the Talmud.

The work of Ibn Sâqaweihi thus comprised the entire scope of the controversy between Rabbanites and Karaites, dealing both with theological matters (anthropomorphism) as well as with matters of Halakha (Sabbath and festival laws, calendar science, and laws of diet, marriage, and cleanliness); and we should have had before us not a mere reply but an independent anti-rabbinical work (the oldest of its kind)². It is probable, however, that this work was the result of Saadiah's activity, so that it rightly belongs to the category of works dealt with in this study.

¹ This section must be the source of Ibn Sâqaweihi's opinion, quoted by Moses ibn Ezra in his מקאלה אחרונה, that דמי in Ps. lxxxiii. 2 does not mean "to be silent" but "to be similar" (quoted by Harkavy in his *Notes to the Russian translation of Graetz*, vol. VI, p. ci): . . . ולקר אפחד בעץ: . . . אלחוארז ענא פי שרח אלהים אל דמי לך פאנה מאל בה מן מעני אלסכות אלי מעני אלהביה פכרז לה מן סו אלקיאם ואל חתנו דמי לו (Jes. lxii. 7) אן לא שבה לה תעאלי חתי הננני ירושלם קיר בן סאקויה הוה אלנבאט פי כראב פצאח לפסח.

² Everything points to the positive inference that Ibn Sâqaweihi was a Karaite and not a sectarian *sui generis*, as Firkowitsch (see Gottlob, in *Bekr. p. 149*) asserts. Moses ibn Ezra (see Harkavy, *ibid.*, p. c, and חושבים גם ישנים, VII, 33) places him in the same rank with Hivi al-Balkhi.

Express testimony to this effect is given by al-Hiti, who was intimately acquainted with Ibn Sâqaweihi's work, in the following words¹: *ובן סקויה רה אה רד על אלרבאני ועלי אלפיומי פי אלהלאל ואלאביב ואלענצרה² ואלאליה ואלשחם ואלחקליר ואבטל נלהם*. This is the conclusion also to be derived from the fact that Saadiah, in his polemical work (about to be mentioned) against Ibn Sâqaweihi, already alludes to his principal work against the Karaites, the *כתאב אלחמיי*³. It is, therefore, probable that Ibn Sâqaweihi also had before him many polemical writings of Saadiah⁴, which now provoked him to a counter-attack.

Of this polemical work of Saadiah, which bore the title *כתאב אלרד על אבן סאקויה*, and of which only a few single quotations were known hitherto⁵, some extensive fragments have now been discovered. One of these, belonging to the early part⁶, contains the information about Ibn Sâqaweihi's work given above, as well as a part of the refutation of the first chapter, namely, the reproach that the Talmudists anthropomorphized the Deity⁷. A more extensive frag-

¹ *J. Q. R.*, IX, 435. Cf. *ibid.*, X, 253, note 3, and *Z. f. H. B.*, II, 79.

² On the Feast of Weeks (i. e. on the controversy respecting *ממחרה* (השבת) Ibn Sâqaweihi had no special section, but he doubtless dealt incidentally with this important theme in another section. Saadiah's views on this matter were preserved at the end of his *כתאב אלחמיי*. See *J. Q. R.*, XVI, 102-5.

³ In the fragment soon to be mentioned, ed. Hirschfeld (*J. Q. R.*, XVI, 109). It is thus established anew that the controversial work against Ibn Sâqaweihi formed a separate work of Saadiah, and that therefore the correction is necessary in the words of Moses ibn Ezra: *הגאון ז"ל כתב* : resp. (in Arab. original) : *וקד בין* ; בספר המבחן [ו] בתשובותיו על בן סקויה האשקורר, רבינו סעדיה גאון ז"ל פי כתאב אלחמיי [ו] פי רדה על בן סאקויה צאחב כתאב אלפצאיה לנפסה, see *ibid.*, p. 100, note 1.

⁴ Above all his controversial work against 'Anân, which appeared in the year 915. See *J. Q. R.*, X, 241.

⁵ Collected by me, *ibid.*, 252 seq.

⁶ Edited by Harkavy from the St. Petersburg Library, *ibid.*, XIII, 662 seq. (partly also *ibid.*, XVI, 112). Cf. also *R. É. J.*, XL, 88.

⁷ It can therefore be assumed with Harkavy (p. 667, note 2) that the quotation from Saadiah in Judah b. Barzillai's Commentary on *Jesira*, p. 20, is perhaps likewise taken from the polemical work against Ibn Sâqaweihi (so that *J. Q. R.*, X, 255 should be corrected).

ment (consisting of six leaves)¹ contains the refutation of the sixth chapter (on leap-year; the beginning is missing of what seems to have been a very complete treatment of the subject), the seventh (on the fat tail, *אליה*, the use of which was forbidden by the Karaites, as opposed to the Rabbanites, see *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, p. 203, n. 3), and of the ninth chapter (on menstruation; the conclusion is missing). The refutation of the eighth chapter (on forbidden degrees of relationship) was thus not included in the work², probably because Saadiah composed a separate treatise on this subject³. Still another fragment⁴, in which the objections against the Mishna are refuted, is perhaps likewise an offshoot of the work against Ibn Sâqaweihi, as the latter (as we saw above) attacked the Mishna in his own polemical writing, and Saadiah expressly states that he will follow up the refutation of the first four chapters with a defence of the Mishna⁵. In this fragment Saadiah does not address his words to a particular person, as in the other two, but speaks of "those people"⁶.

The treatment that Saadiah accorded to Ibn Sâqaweihi in his work was not very generous. He usually calls him

¹ Edited by Hirschfeld from the Cambridge Geniza, *J. Q. R.*, XVI, 105-12. That this fragment belongs to the polemical work against Ibn Sâqaweihi is shown by the contents here presented, which correspond exactly to the order of the sections in the work of Ibn Sâqaweihi.

² This follows expressly from Saadiah's words (p. 110, l. 15): *ואר שרדנא אלז אלמבואב מן אלו אלמכירה (אלמכירה. r.) אלהי אדנא עלינא פיהא אנא כאלפנא קרמאנא וכשפנא מא קד חבין פיבני אן נשרח אלז [אל]באקה די חמאם אלכחאב אלך*. On the division of the ten sections of Ibn Sâqaweihi into four and six, see above.

³ Steinschneider's doubts (*loc. cit.*, p. 49, no. 8) as to the existence of this work seem to me to be unfounded. Cf. my *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, p. 42, and the Addenda at the end of the present dissertation, p. 99.

⁴ Likewise edited by Harkavy, *loc. cit.*, 656-7.

⁵ See p. 663, l. 7 from bottom: *קבל הוה אלי מבואב . . . וקדם (אי אבן סאקויד) אלז הוה אלי מבואב . . . פלולך ארי אן אקדם קבל זכר אלז אלמשנא עלי אלמשנא כיה יקאל אנחא ען משה רבינו . . . פלולך ארי אן אקדם קבל זכר אלז אלז אלמכירה זכר אלמשנא למופע מא העלך פי הוה אלמבואב בשי מכה ואמא אלז מבואב אלמבואב פאר עליה פי מא שנע בה פיה קבל אחזנאני לצחה אלמשנא*.

⁶ See p. 656, l. 7 from bottom: *רמח האלי אלקום ישעון בהא עלי . . . אלמשנא אלך*.

“the ignoramus” (הוא אלנאהל), or “novice” (הוא אלנוריד), or “that fellow” (הוא אלנאסאן, הוא אלנול), applying to him the verses Psalm xxxi. 19, Prov. xviii. 3, and Job xiii. 5. He says ‘that he has rightly called his work כתאב אלפצאיה, because he has revealed in it only his own shame and confusion.

Besides being mentioned in the special polemical work, Ibn Sâqaweihi is referred to in another fragment, the author of which, according to Harkavy, must also have been Saadia. We there read¹: ולא קאל בן סאק[ויה] באן אלצאים ינוז לה שרב אלסכנבין אוא א . . . צ . . . מן אלווא Ibn Sâqaweihi maintain that one who is fasting may drink *sakanjabin* (a sort of syrup prepared from sour wine), as it is to be regarded as medicine?”

3. Abû Jûsuf Ja'qûb [b. Isaac b. Shemaja?] al-Qirqisâni is rightly regarded as one of the foremost Karaite authorities, but the full extent of his literary importance has only become known in recent times². His chief work was a complete commentary about the passages of the Pentateuch not bearing on law (פי שרה מעאני), entitled כתאב אלריאין ואלחדאיק (אלתוריה אלתי הי גיר אלפראין “Book of Beds and Gardens,” which had as introduction a complete compendium of law, entitled אלמנואר “Book of Lights and Watch-towers.” In the former work the date of composition, Rabia' II, 326 of the Hegira = Adar 1249 contr. (= 938), is expressly given³; and the second work, too, which claims our chief interest, was composed, according to Ibn al-Hiti, a year earlier, i. e. 325 of the Hegira (= 937)⁴. Qirqisâni was accordingly

¹ *Voskhod*, January, 1900, p. 83.

² Steinschneider details the literature on him, loc. cit., § 43 (supplemented in my *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, p. 48). In these places everything is enumerated that has hitherto been edited of the works of Qirqisâni.

³ See Neubauer, *Med. Jew. Chron.*, II, 249, l. 7 from bottom: פארא . . . אפיך עלי וולך סני אלסכנדר ודי סני אלשטרוח וגמלחה אלי סנה שכו מן סני אלערב צאר אלק רמס . . . ופיהא חם האליף הוא אלכתאב וולך פי שחר אדר וחו שחר רביע אלמזר. Cf. also Firkowitsch, בני רשף, p. 21.

⁴ *J. Q. R.*, IX, 432: אלקסאני רח אלת תאריך תצניפה:

a contemporary of Saadiah, but, so far as is yet known, his name has not been found mentioned in the writings of the Gaon. Harkavy, indeed, conjectures¹ that the quotations from Saadiah found in Jehuda b. Barzillai's *Ješira* commentary are taken from a work directed against Qirqisâni. But it is much more probable that Jehuda b. Barzillai had before him the polemical work against Ibn Sâqaweihi², especially as only one of the *Agadot*, but not the second³, defended by Saadiah, is cited by Qirqisâni. Moreover, it cannot yet be proved that Saadiah may have known the writings of his younger Karaite contemporary. On the other hand, Qirqisâni often quotes Saadiah and controverts him⁴; but unfortunately only a single long passage⁵ from the "Book of Beds" and a few chapters from the "Book of Lights" have hitherto been published. Still, I shall adduce here all the passages known to me.

The Pentateuch commentary exists in a longer and a shorter version, and there are fragments of both in St. Petersburg and in the British Museum. In the published passage from the longer version, which deals with chronology, there is an anonymous rejoinder to Saadiah. After stating that the Bible in dealing with large numbers of years often omits smaller ones, e. g. one or two years, the writer concludes: ופי הדיא כלה דרם אלעבור ופציה מן ירעי: אנה קרים מנר אול כלק אלעאלם יגרי עלי סנן ואחר אלי הדיא אלנאיה "From all this may be inferred the futility of the 'Ibbur (i. e. of the permanent calendar) and the confusion of the one who has maintained that the calendar is very ancient, and that its rules have remained the same since the creation

אלחומר סנה אלק ומאיתן המאניה וסבען לששמה סינן ולך פי סנה 1000 ללחורה. Both these dates do not agree, and we must correct וסבען into וארבען 1000 and 1000 into 1248 (hence p. 437, note 1 must be rectified; in בני רשא, loc. cit., we rightly have 1248, Era of Contracts, but equally wrongly 315 of the Hegira).

¹ Introduction to Qirqisâni, p. 248.

² See above, p. 6.

³ Cf. *J. Q. R.*, X, 255.

⁴ Harkavy, loc. cit.

⁵ See Neubauer, loc. cit. Cf. also my *Miscellen über Saadja*, III, p. 9, note 1 (= *Monatsschrift*, XLIV, 408, note 2).

of the world." As is well known, this was the theory of Saadiah.

In the *Kitáb al-'Anwár*, of which I possess several excerpts in manuscript besides those printed, there are a few chapters exclusively devoted to the refutation of Saadiah, e.g. section xi, chap. 29, on forbidden degrees of relationship, and section xii, chaps. 15-16, on the use of the fat tail (אליה)¹. Again, in other passages Saadiah is controverted incidentally (often anonymously), or he is the chief object of controversy: e.g. section ii, chap. 13, on Saadiah's theory about the age of the permanent calendar²; *ibid.*, chaps. 14-15 (partly edited in *Z.f.H.B.*, III, 175), on the divinity and the necessity of the oral law; section xi, chap. 30 (edited in the *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, p. 182; reprint, p. xiv), on the prohibition to marry a niece; section xii, chap. 7, on the wrenching off of a fowl's head (מליקה)³; *ibid.*, chap. 10, on the eating of dead fish (Saadiah's name is not mentioned here, cf. *Z.f.H.B.*, IV, 74); *ibid.*, chaps. 20-1 (edited *loc. cit.*, p. 184; reprint, p. xvi) on the use of an embryo, &c. Similarly, according to Harkavy, Saadiah and his polemical work against 'Anân are meant in the following passage of the *Kitáb al-'Anwár*, the section and chapter of which cannot be ascertained for the present⁴: וקר זעם בעץ מן יחתג ללרבאנין וירד עלי מן זעם אן אלצלאה מן אלתהלים אלך, i.e. "A Rabbanite has refuted the view that the prayers are to consist only of psalms," &c. As a matter of fact, this was a prescription of 'Anân, who endeavoured by this means to annul the hitherto prevalent order of prayer, because the latter went back upon tradition⁵.

¹ See the headings of these chapters in *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, pp. 201, 203.

² *J. Q. R.*, XIII, 661: וקר זעם אלעבור מן מוסי חם צאר אלן: קול אנה מן אדם; hence the same as in the passage just mentioned from the Pentateuch commentary.

³ See *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, p. 203, note 1, and *R. É. J.*, XLV, 196-7.

⁴ See Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, V, 107. The continuation in his *Otcherki*, I, 52, note 3.

⁵ See, e.g., *Gan Eden*, fol. 71 a; *Adderet Elijah*, ענין חסלה, chap. 5 (cf.

There is also a compendium of the *Kitāb al-'Anwār* (Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2525, Catalogue II, no. 588, cf. *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, p. 211), containing many controversial rejoinders to Saadiah, which had not yet been discovered in the main work: e. g. on the science of the calendar, where Saadiah's name is not expressly mentioned (fol. 44 a, seqq.; see *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 686); on incest (fol. 101 b, similar to section xi, chap. 29, of the main work; the passage may perhaps be taken from Saadiah's treatise on this subject, see above, p. 7, n. 3); on the idea of מים חיים (fol. 137 b; cf. *Z. f. H. B.*, IV, 17 seq.), &c.

We thus see that Qirgisāni also touches on all the points of difference between Rabbanites and Karaites. It must be observed, moreover, that of all the older Karaite authors Qirgisāni is most deeply versed in the Talmudic literature, and that his polemics are calm in tone and objective in character.

[4. **Menahem b. Michael b. Joseph** is the author of a poem with commentary on the laws of slaughtering¹, in which a controversy is directed quite clearly against a Rabbanite opponent. The superscription of this poem reads: ואת האגרת ששלח רבנו מנחם הקראי לעקלם הגר אצל ר' ואת האגרת ששלח רבנו מנחם הקראי לעקלם הגר אצל ר' סעדיה הרבן על אדות הלכות שהיטה. Pinsker identifies the latter with Saadiah Gaon, makes Menahem his contemporary, and maintains that Menahem indulged in polemics against the

also Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, VIII, 1, 203). In another passage Qirgisāni reproaches the Rabbanites for not taking prayers [exclusively?] from the Psalms (sect. 1, chap. 3; ed. Harkavy, p. 286: ומן זלך אהם אספיו אלעזא: (מן ספר ההלות ונעלוחא ממא אלפיה הם אנך). A sectarian, Malik al-Ramli, prescribed that Ps. xxix should take the place of the Eighteen Benedictions, probably in agreement with the dictum of Hillel, the son of Samuel b. Nahmani, in *Berachot*, 28 b. See Harkavy, *Voskhod*, Jan., 1900, p. 79. Similarly Petahia relates of the heretics in the land of Kedar: ואינם מתפללין אלא מומורים וכשספר להם הר"ר פתחיה התפלה שלנו וברכת המוון היה מוב בעיניהם (cf. Harkavy, *Alljüd. Denkmäler*, p. 106). Cf. also the Responsa of Levi b. Habib, no. 79: . . . שהמינים בישראל אין להם ברכות מסודרות ומחוקקות אלא: כל תפלתן היא ומירות וסוקים וכו'.

¹ Edited from a Leyden MS. (Cat. Steinschneider, no. 41⁶) by Pinsker, p. 55 seq.

Gaon¹. But this identification can hardly be considered correct, because the language of Menaḥem points clearly to a Byzantine Karaite, e. g. גבול for "definition" (p. 59, l. 7), ענה in the sense of "i. e." (= Arab. يعنى; *ibid.*, l. 28), expressions that the ancient Karaites in the East do not know. Consequently our poem cannot have been directed against Saadiah. Menaḥem belongs to a much later time, and is adduced here only for the purpose of showing that he does not belong to the category of the Karaite authors dealt with here by us. The lifetime of Menaḥem can, in any case, be determined with a certain probability. On the one hand, he is doubtless identical with the Karaite liturgical poet, Menaḥem b. Michael, of whose writings we possess (among others) a Zion Ode², so that he could not have composed any poetry before Jehuda Halevi. On the other hand, he is already cited by Aaron b. Joseph in the *Mibḥar* (composed 1294) on Gen. xxvii. 3 (ed. fol. 50 b). We shall therefore not go wrong if we assume that he flourished somewhere in the second half of the twelfth century. For other proofs of a later date, see Geiger (אוצר נחמד, IV, 31) and Schorr (החלוץ, VI, 76).]

It is thus established that only three Karaites disputed with Saadiah during his lifetime. The other two, who, according to Sahl, likewise refuted the Fayyumite during his life, certainly developed their main literary activity after the demise of the Gaon. This is also true of

5. Salmon b. Jeroḥam (Arab. Sulejmān b. Ruḥeim), about the circumstances of whose life we possess hardly

¹ It is superfluous to enter into the other identifications of Pinsker (such as that of Menaḥem b. Michael with Menaḥem ha-Giṣni, &c.), as their impossibility has long been proved.

² Begins בנים יקרים מן ("Karaite Prayer Book," ed. Wilna, 1890, I, 134; cf. Landshut, *Amude ha-Avoda*, p. 76). Other liturgical poems of Menaḥem are: two Kinnot, נכור וענוב לקול בנים and משכנתי הצרתי and אלהי אצוק (ibid., I, 127 and 135), and a Seliḥa, beginning ננך שיחתי (ibid., III, 316; cf. Pinsker, p. 139, no. 25; lacking in Luzzatto, נחלת שד"ל, 1884, p. 4).

any authentic information¹. His Hebrew polemical work against Saadiah, written in wretched rhymes, is the only one that has been preserved from remote times, and this has been only partly edited. It was possibly composed while Saadiah was yet alive, about 940. I have already analysed its contents thoroughly in another connexion, and referred there especially to its snarling tone². Salmon wanted to render this work into Arabic too for the people, but we do not know whether this was carried out. In any case no Arabic version has been preserved.

Besides this polemical work Salmon also composed a series of Biblical commentaries, which were probably all issued in the sixth decade of the tenth century (i.e. after Saadiah's death), and which have been preserved partly in the original Arabic, partly in a Hebrew translation. Here, too, aggressive war is waged against Saadiah³, especially in the Commentary on Psalms (MS. in St. Petersburg). Salmon speaks here of Saadiah as of a completely unknown man (ושאהרת פי עזרי רגלא יערף באלפיומי), and refutes his view that the Psalms might be recited as prayers only in the Temple and only with musical accompaniment⁴. Then he also controverts another view of Saadiah, that entire psalms are prophecies of David, and that the royal minstrel had assigned many of them to the sons of Moses and to other Levites, to be sung⁵.

¹ See in particular Steinschneider, loc. cit., § 40 (also *ibid.*, p. 340).

² *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 684 seq. I have since published many more passages from it, thus *ibid.*, X, 271; *Z. f. H. B.*, III, 172; and *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, p. 186.

³ Sahl's statement, quoted above, is thus confirmed, that Salmon conducted his campaign against Saadiah in his lifetime as well as after his death.

⁴ See the passage in question in Neubauer, *Studia Biblica*, III, 18. It is not difficult to see that Saadiah with this assertion aimed at an ordinance of 'Anân. See above, p. 10, n. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19. According to Saadiah, e. g., the heading למשה in Ps. xc means as much as בני משה (he points to Judges i. 3, where שמעון and יהודה likewise stand for בני יהודה and בני שמעון), the heading לשלמה, in Ps. lxxii,

On Psalm cii. 14 there is a rather long excursus on the reckoning of the year of redemption, where likewise a vigorous attack is made on Saadiah. I have edited in full and thoroughly discussed this excursus¹, which Salmon again repeats almost verbally on Canticles ii. 11. On Psalm civ. 19 Salmon quotes his *כתאב אלרד עלי אלפימי*, but it is doubtful whether he means here the Hebrew or the Arabic work². In connexion with cxl. 6 is related the often discussed fact that Saadiah denied that the Talmud speaks of physical struggles between the followers of Shammai and those of Hillel. This passage has also been thoroughly examined by me³.

In the commentaries on Echa and Kohelet, the only ones that I saw complete in the original Arabic, I found nothing polemical against Saadiah and especially nothing objectionable against the Rabbanites, who are elsewhere so violently attacked by Salmon⁴. Perhaps, therefore, Steinschneider is right in doubting their genuineness⁵, which has yet, in any case, to be established.

Finally, it may be mentioned that, according to Ibn al-Hiti, Salmon died in Aleppo during Saadiah's lifetime. The latter is said to have followed the funeral procession and to have pronounced a eulogy on the departed. All this naturally belongs to the realm of fiction (from mere chronological considerations), but still it is possible that Salmon indeed died in Aleppo⁶. We now know that Saadiah stayed in this town, even before his appointment as Gaon (about 921)⁷, but at that time Salmon was just a new-born babe.

is equal to "on Solomon," &c. Even David's authorship of any psalm is not to be disputed.

¹ "Miscellen über Saadja," III, Berlin, 1901 (reprint from *Monatsschrift*, XLIV, 400-16 and 508-29).

² See Pinsker, p. 133.

³ *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, pp. 169 seq. (For a correction see my *חזקה לזר*, Warsaw, 1902, p. 16; cf. also *Monatsschrift*, XLVI, 376.)

⁴ See *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 689; XIII, 337.

⁵ *Hebr. Bibliog.*, XIII, 103 (cf. *R. É. J.*, XLI, 305).

⁶ See *Z. f. H. B.*, II, 79.

⁷ In a letter to his pupils, dated 922, on the dispute about the Calendar

6. Ḥasan (or Ḥusein) ben Mashiah¹, according to the above-cited account of Sahl, wrote polemics against Saadiah both in his lifetime and after his death. He is also said to have tried to hold a dispute with the Gaon verbally, but the latter roughly repulsed him. He succeeded, however, in obtaining one of Saadiah's anti-Karaite writings (which the author is said never to have allowed to leave his possession), and refuted it immediately (in a separate work?)². It is, of course, difficult to establish how much truth is contained in this report, but in any case Ben Mashiah ought to be a contemporary of Saadiah, although a considerably younger one. According to Ibn al-Hiti, who often had good information at his disposal, Ben Mashiah, who lived in Bagdad, disputed with his fellow-townsmen, the Christian physician, Abū 'Alī 'Isa b. Zar'a. The latter wrote his polemical work against the Jews in the year 387 of the Hegira (=997), and if we assume that this disputation took place before the appearance of this work, that is, about a few years before 997, and that Ben Mashiah was already an old man then, he can hardly have been engaged in literary activity before 940. Hence al-Hiti is quite right in coupling him with Salmon b. Jeroḥam, as they were of about the same age³.

with Ben Meir, Saadiah says : דע כי בעדני בחלב באו מקצת החלמידים מבבל גד וכו' (*Saadyana*, ed. Schechter, p. 25, l. 12; cf. *J. Q. R.*, IX, 37, and *R. É. J.*, XLVIII, 149, note 3).

¹ For the literature about him refer to my article in *Jew. Encycl.*, s. v. (VI, 247; where, however, the determination of the period of his life must be modified in accordance with the present conclusions), and *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, p. 47.

² Pinsker, p. 37 : . . . וגם לא היה (ר"ל סעדיה) מביא אליו כי אם אח אשר הוא : דפץ . . . ובן משיח הקציר נפשו מביניהם (?) והביא אותו חרר בחרר עד שצנע ואמר מה לי ולך לך מעלי. והספרים אשר כתב לא הוציאים בחייו מתחת ידו על בני מקרא ואחר מהם . . . נפל ביד בן משיח והשיב עליו בחייו וכו'. For continuation see above, p. 3.

³ See *J. Q. R.*, IX, 434 : . . . אלשיכון אבו אלחסן (sic) בן משיח וסלמון בן ירוחם : כאנא פי ומאן אלסוימי וכאן בן משיח נאקצה מנאקצאת כחירה פי בנראד ובן ירוחם נאקצה פי חלב . . . ואבו [עלי] עיסי בן סרעה (ורעה l.) פי רסאלאה אלח[א]ם סבעין (?) ר"ל פיהא עלי אליהוד הם אמה באבן משיח אלמכור ותנאדרא (ותנאפרא l.) הו והו ואלרכאלה אלמכורה תאריכה עמלה סנה 387. The date 387 is confirmed by Ibn abi Oseibia (ed. Müller, I, 236, l. 10 from bottom). Ibn Zar'a was born in August, 943,

Of Ben Mashiah's polemics against Saadiah, we are principally acquainted with a passage directed against the Gaon's defence of the antiquity of the present calendar-system, in which Ben Mashiah refers to "Sadducean writings (כתבי צדוקים, כתב אלצרוקיה), which are known among the people." This passage has been preserved in Arabic, in a commentary on Exodus, of which Sahl or perhaps even Ben Mashiah himself is the author, and in Hebrew in a fragment that originates from Hadassi¹. Besides this, a MS. has been recently published, in which Ben Mashiah reproduces a complete Hebrew treatise on the calendar of an otherwise unknown Rabbanite, Joshua b. 'Alân², and which writing perhaps originally formed the constituent part of a polemical work by Ben Mashiah.

7. 'Abû 'Anân Isaac b. 'Ali b. Isaac was, according to Ibn al-Hiti, an important Karaite scholar, who in a special work, entitled כתאב אלכראנ (?), tilted his controversial pen against Saadiah among others. I have already compiled in another place the little that is known about him, and there shown that he probably flourished about the middle of the tenth century³.

8. Abu-l-Ṭajjib al-Jebeli (Hebr. Samuel b. Asher b. Manṣūr)⁴ is also mentioned by Sahl among the Karaites who wrote polemical works against Saadiah after his death. According to Ibn al-Hiti, he is said to have been a contemporary of Abu-l-Faraj Harûn; but as the latter flourished about 1026, al-Jebeli could hardly have been cited by Sahl. According to a further account of Ibn al-Hiti, al-Jebeli disputed with the head of a school, Menaḥem, after he became acquainted with a work of a son of Menaḥem

and died at the beginning of May, 1008; see *Fihrist*, I, 264; II, 121. Cf. also Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apolog. Literatur*, pp. 146-7.

¹ Both versions are published and discussed by me in *R. É. J.*, XLV, 176-7, where all particulars may be found.

² Edited in *הצפירה*, 1899, nos. 141-2, and again in *הגון*, IV, 75 (cf. *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, I. c.).

³ See *ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.

⁴ See on him my short article in *Jew. Encycl.*, VII, 16a.

addressed to a certain Abû Tâbit¹. If this Menahem, as I conjecture, is identical with another of the same name, who addressed inquiries in Arabic to Saadiah (see הגרן, I, 91)², then al-Jebeli could likewise have composed his polemical work about the middle of the tenth century.

9. 'Ali b. Ḥasan (or Ḥusein) likewise figures in Sahl's list among Saadiah's disputants, but there are no particulars known about him. Pinsker (p. קיא) identifies him with the grandfather of Levi b. Jefet, who, in his *Muqaddima* (ibid., p. 64, where 'Ali b. אלהסן), mentions a commentary on the Pentateuch by him. Accordingly, 'Ali, as he was the father of Jefet, would have flourished about 960-70. But there is a lack of sufficient proof for this, and, besides, the authenticity of the *Muqaddima* is not quite free from doubt³.

10. David b. Abraham al-Fâsi is the author of a comprehensive and voluminous Hebrew dictionary in Arabic, bearing the title כתאב נאמע אלאלפאט or אנרון. Pinsker and Neubauer have published detailed specimens from it, and placed the author in the second half of the tenth century, soon after Saadiah. On the other hand, there was no lack of attempts, especially on the part of Schorr, to place him in the twelfth century, after Ibn Ezra. But one will have to decide for the first date⁴. In this lexicon Saadiah is

¹ *J. Q. R.*, IX, 435 : ואלשיך שמואל בן אשר בן מנצור אלמערקא באבו אלמייב אלג'לי כאן פי זמאן אלשיך אבר (אבי ל.) אלפרג הארון ותנאצרא (= ותנאצרא) פי אלמייב ואלסנאז אלשרעיה וכאן עלי ראי אלמולי אבו עלי רח אה ולה מקאלה פי אפסאר אלמחזור וחאב אלמוד ור' עלי מנחם ראש מחיבא ענר וקופה עלי רקעה בן מנחם אלי אבי האבת איידה אה. Al-Jebeli's work against the Mahzor-cycle and the calculation of the Molad must be identical with the polemical treatise against Saadiah, as these subjects form the principle theme of polemics. When Ibn al-Hiti says further, that al-Jebeli was of the opinion of Abu 'Ali, i. e. Jefet, one need not yet conclude from this that he followed him, but that their opinions on this point were in agreement.

² Cf. Steinschneider, *Arab. Liter. d. Juden*, § 30 (and also ibid., p. 339).

³ Cf. also Steinschneider, *J. Q. R.*, X, 539, and my *Zür jüd.-arab. Litter.*, p. 49, l. ult.

⁴ See the literature dealing with the matter in Steinschneider, pp. 86 and 341, and in Bacher, *Jew. Encycl.*, s. v. (IV, 459, 460).

quoted twice s.v. רש (Pinsker, p. 108), and his interpretation of the verses Gen. i. 11, 12, is refuted. In these verses the yielding of fruit-bearing trees only is mentioned, not of ordinary trees (see Nahmanides on the passage). Now Saadiah must have explained ver. 11 in such a way, that the latter are to be understood by עץ פרי, i.e. trees that are a fruit of the earth, as opposed to fruit-bearing trees, which are עשה פרי. Ver. 12 is shortened, and should also read here עץ [פרי] עשה פרי. This explanation of Saadiah, which is combated by David b. Abraham, is, however, in contradiction to the Gaon's translation of the particular two verses.

11. Abu Sa'id (?) David b. Boaz, the Prince (הנשיא, אלריים), according to a genealogical list of Solomon the Prince (Pinsker, p. 53), was in the fifth generation of descent from 'Anân. Hence David would have flourished about 910 (approximately $5 \times 30 = 150$ years after 'Anân), and have been a contemporary of Saadiah. On the other hand, according to Ibn al-Hiti, David composed his commentary on Kohelet in the year 383 of the Hegira (= 993), and was mentioned even after Levi b. Jefet by the Solomon referred to¹, so that David would belong to the last quarter of the tenth century. This date seems to me also to be the more correct, principally because David, so far as is yet known, is first quoted by Joseph al-Baṣîr in the ספר המועדים². Hadassi also mentions him between Jefet and his son³, though this may be accidental.

Of David's works Ibn al-Hiti mentions, besides the commentary on Kohelet, still another on the Pentateuch and a book on the principles of religion (כתאב אלאצול)⁴.

¹ J. Q. R., IX, 432: ואלסיד דוד בן בוזו רח' אה' תצניפה קהלת פי סנה' 383 ללהנה' . . . לאנה (אי שלמה הנשיא) דכר אוולא ; ולה הפסיר אלתורה וכתאב אלאצול עין הם בנימין הם דניאל הם אלקרקסאני הם אבו אלסרי הם אבו עלי אלבצרי וולדה הם דוד בן בוזו אלנשיא הם אלמצעם אבו עלי (?) רחמה' אה' עיהם אלמצעין .

² See the passage in Pinsker, p. 199 (cf. also *ibid.*, p. קיא).

³ *Eshkol*, 241, פ' ש: המלכדים סהל ופח' ודוד הנשיא וכן (ובן 1) יפח' נ"ע יחד וכו' . . . פשרונם המצא בספר אוצר הנחמד ובספר חורת כהנים [של] .

⁴ The composition of such a work also points rather to a post-Saadyanic Karaite than to a contemporary.

Of the Pentateuch commentary there have been preserved only considerable parts in MS., namely, on Leviticus and on the second half of Deuteronomy in St. Petersburg; on Exod. xxv. 1-xxxiii. 13 in the British Museum (Catalogue Margoliouth, Vol. I, No. 384), and, in addition, on the whole of Exodus in a modern copy in the Karaite synagogue in Jerusalem¹. According to Harkavy (*Z. A. T. W.*, I, 157), David, in the St. Petersburg MS., frequently controverted Saadiah, not expressly naming him, however, but only designating him as **הוא אלרנל**. In the London MS. there are two such passages (fol. 19 a on xxv. 32 and fol. 31 b on xxvii. 4), and in both the discussion is about the construction of appurtenances of the tabernacle².

Besides this MS. of the British Museum, Margoliouth has been trying to show that some other MSS. of the same collection also have David as their author, but the demonstration is not everywhere quite convincing³. We have to consider only two of them here. The one (MS. Or. 2494¹; Cat. No. 318¹) contains a commentary on the first pericope of Leviticus (the beginning and end are missing), and in two passages (ff. 1b, 4b) there is a hit at the **הוא אלרנל**. The second is much more important (Or. 2495; Cat. No. 306). This MS., of which I have a copy of a few excerpts, contains a very detailed commentary on Lev. xi. 1-xv. 25. Of authors mentioned here besides the Talmudists (designated **אלאולן** and **אלרבאנין**) and 'Anân, only Saadiah is very often cited⁴, sometimes as **אלפימי**, sometimes also as **הוא אלרנל**, his name being accompanied by the formula **רה אללה**. The points on which Saadiah's views are combated naturally concern the laws of purity, but they are mostly questions of subordinate

¹ See Steinschneider, § 39 (also *ibid.*, p. 340).

² See the beginning of both passages in Margoliouth's Catalogue, where Saadiah is referred to in the one as **ולך אלרגל**, and in the other as **הוא אלרגל**. In this MS. David is also called **אבי סעיר דוד בן ביש קרא** (the entire MS. is otherwise, without exception, written with Arabic letters).

³ Cf. *R. É. J.*, XLI, 305, 306.

⁴ See the list of passages in Margoliouth's Catalogue.

importance. Once (fol. 181 a, on xv. 25; see further, p. 25) the prescriptions about menstruous women are also discussed. The controversy is conducted calmly and pertinently. Different expressions are adduced, e.g.: והוא איצא פאסד (ibid.); או טאהר אלנך לם יקחצי דלך (fol. 47 a)¹; בטל מא אוררה (fol. 78 a); פקד רדנא עליה מא יסקט קולה (fol. 179 b); גמלה מא קאלה . . . לא יצחחה אלנטר ולא אלכתאב (fol. 182 a), &c. Thus, unlike the Karaite custom elsewhere observed, only views but not personalities are combated. In one passage the author refutes an opinion of Saadiah, which is really that of the Talmud (viz., the well-known explanation of that of the Talmud (viz., the well-known explanation of דם לרם in Deut. xvii. 8, that what is intended here is a decision respecting the pure and impure blood of a menstruous woman, see Sifre, ad loc., and parallel passages), and he refers to his own commentary on this verse (fol. 165 a): . . . אעלם אן גמיע מא קאלה (אי אלפיומי) לא יצח מנה שי ודלך באן קולה בין דם לרם הו פי דם נדה דעוי ולכצמה אן יקול הו פי דם נפשות אלדי תקע בין שונג אלי מויר פחתאנז אלי פקה כהן גדול או הו מעלך בה ואיצא קולה דבר למשפט ידל אן דלך כורנז מנה ואנמא אלקצאץ אלדי יקחל ען אמר אלחאכם וליס דם נדה וזבה מן דברי המשפט ולא דברי ריב בל הו מן אלמצות אלדי תערפהא אלנסא כמא יערפו אלרגאל שנכת זרע וליס פיה טאהר וקר ביינא פי תפסיר הוא אלפסוק מא ידל עלי אן הוא פאסד אלך². The Karaite author doubtless used as his source in every case Saadiah's commentary on the Pentateuch, and we should thus possess here important fragments of this vanished work.

12. Jefet b. 'Ali ha-Levi (Arab. Abū 'Ali Hasan b. 'Ali al-Baṣri) must have flourished in the last quarter of the tenth century³. He is the most prolific Karaite exegete of

¹ See the whole passage in *R. E. J.*, XLV, 56.

² Perhaps the Samaritan Munajja b. Ṣedāqa also disputes with Saadiah on this point; see Wreschner, *Samarit. Traditionen*, p. 33. Cf. also *Keter Torā*, ad loc. (fol. 20 b).

³ His commentary on Daniel, which is apparently one of his latest commentaries (perhaps even the latest), appeared about the year 1000. See D. S. Margoliouth's preface to his edition of this commentary (Oxford, 1889), p. v.

the Bible, for he has translated the entire twenty-four books of Scripture into Arabic and commented upon them very fully, partly at least in two recensions (Pentateuch, Psalms ?; see *R. É. J.*, XLI, 306). The commentaries of Jefet, especially that on the Pentateuch, afford very much valuable material for the history of the older Karaite literature and theology; but of the many MSS. extant in St. Petersburg, London, Oxford, Paris, Berlin, &c., unfortunately only a comparatively small portion has been edited¹.

According to Sahl, Abū 'Ali Hasan al-Baṣri, i. e. Jefet, likewise combated Saadiah in a special work, which is further corroborated by Jefet's own statements. The composition of such a work is promised in the passage on Gen. i. 14. After Jefet advances controversial arguments about the calendar against Saadiah in very thorough fashion², he adds that he has entered into this dispute only incidentally, because his main purpose is to present here an exposition of Holy Writ. But should God vouchsafe him the time, then he will refute the views of Saadiah in a special treatise . . . וינב אנ יעלם אלקאר פי הוא אלבאב אני למ אקצר אלתערץ בראם אלמתיבה או בנירה מן מכאלפי אלקראיין ואנמא למא כאן חרד אלכלאם פי באב אלמטאלבה ואסתקצא עליהם גהרה דכרת עיון מטאלבאתה ואלרד עליהא באכתצאר לאנה כתאב תפסיר ולא יחתמל אלתאסאע ואן פסח אללה פי אלעמר פרדת להוא אלבאב כתאב יחתוי עלי גמיע מא אחבתה פי כתבה מן כתב אלתפאסיר וגירהא ואטהר מא עליה פי כל באב ובאב אלך (אן שא אללה תע אלך). On the other hand, in the passage on Exod. xxxv. 3 (published by Pinsker, p. 20), he quotes this controversial treatise as already in existence: . . . ודלך במא רדרת בה עלי מדעייה פי אלכתאב אלדי אלפת לה. Jefet's polemical work, like many others, is now lost,

¹ A review of the known and available MSS. and of the parts edited so far is given by Steinschneider in *Die arab. Liter. d. Juden*, § 44 (also *ibid.*, p. 341, and *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, p. 49; add the MS. no. 234 of the library of the Alliance is. univ. in Paris, containing the comm. on Lev. xxvi. 38-xxvii, cf. *R. É. J.*, XLIX, 286, and the translation of Gen. viii. 1-22, and ix. 18-28, printed in Kahle, *Die arab. Bibelübersetzungen*, pp. 29-31).

² See *J. Q. R.*, X, 246.

and we do not know whether he composed it in Arabic, like all his other works, or in Hebrew, like a work directed against Jacob b. Samuel, to be mentioned below. But although Jefet maintains that he will not expand his commentary by a controversy with Saadiah or with other opponents of the Karaites, he does nevertheless indulge in polemics, especially in the Pentateuch commentary, very often and very thoroughly against the *ראם אלמתיבה*, and quotes rather long passages both from anti-Karaite works as well as from the Bible commentaries of Saadiah¹. I now proceed to give a survey of the passages in question from Jefet's commentaries, so far as I have them before me either in printed form or in manuscript excerpts². I arrange them according to subject-matter, and must observe that here especially Jefet very often repeats himself verbally.

1. On the justification of the Oral Law in general, its divinity and necessity: Exod. xxi. 33 (here Jefet defends very thoroughly especially the method of analogy, *היקש*, קיאם, applied by the Karaites) and Dan. xii. 4 (ed. D. S. Margoliouth, p. 141). Contrary to his usual custom, Jefet uses, in the last passage, very harsh words, and says that Saadiah and his party, in maintaining that one must, without personal investigation, follow the representatives of the prophets, that is, the teachers of the Mishna and Talmud, have thereby led Israel into ruin, and so forth³. Jefet treats

¹ See *ibid.*, 241 seq., the passages from Saadiah's anti-Karaite writings preserved by Jefet. Saadiah's commentary on the Pentateuch, e.g., is expressly mentioned by Jefet on Gen i. 14: *כמא קלה סי תפסיר הוה אלקצה*: . . . הם: Exod. xxi. 33; *סי בראשית ודו קולך וקולה ולהבריל בין היום ובין הלילה ישיר אלך*; *מע ולך פאנא וגרנא לה סי תפסיר ואלה שמות סי ושמת לך מקום אשר ינום יקול אלך*; . . . *דולך אנה הכי ענהם אלפיומי סי פצל מכת צפרדעים מא הודא נחכיה חרף*: xxiii. 15; *ואמא אלפיומי פקד אברע עלי כתאב אללה תע*: . . . *כמק סי*: xxiv. 4; *בחרף ודו קולה אלך*; . . . *פדהר חכאיה מא דהב אליה*: Lev. xviii. 6; *תפסיר הוה אלמוצע חרף בחרף אלך*; *אלפיומי סי תפסיר הוה אלפסק וועם אלך*.

² I use copies from the most varied libraries.

³ *פדהר אלמקאויל ונפראוהא חרף עלי בשלאן קול אצחאב אלחקליד מהל קול אלפיומי* . . . *יורה אלוך אהלכו ישראל במא דלון וקאלו לים ילון אן הערף פראיץ אללה תע מן אלבחת* . . . *וינב אלחקליד לנפלא אלמנביא דום אצחאב אלמשנה ואחלימוד* . . . *פאמני אלנאם בכתבה* . . . *אלמוזרפה אלך*. Cf. also my conclusions in *R. E. J.*, XLI, 183 seq.

this subject also in some other passages of his commentaries, and disputes here with the Rabbanites in general. He clearly hints at Saadiah in the passage on Deut. xxxiii. 14, and there employs similar expressions to those used in the Daniel passage: וימכן אן יכון מעתמד ללקול אלבאטל ליצ״ל אלנאם: ען אלחץ במא ילבם עליהם באקאוויל מזכרפֿה נשאחא פי כתבה אלך.

2. Questions of calendar-science: hence the rise and age of the present calendar, validity of the *Dehijot*, fixing of leap-years, &c.—questions that are known to have been in the very centre of the controversy between Rabbanites and Karaites. The chief passage is Gen. i. 14 (partly edited *J. Q. R.*, X, 246 seq.; cf. also above), where Saadiah's theory about the great age of the calendar-system is quoted from his *Kitāb al-tamjiz* and the Pentateuch commentary and very thoroughly refuted. There further belong to this section: Gen. viii. 3 (the chronology of the Flood is here considered, and various questions of calendar-lore are discussed; cf. *J. Q. R.*, X, 241); xlix. 14 (partly the same as on i. 14; cf. *ibid.*, 248, n. 2; Saadiah's proof from 1 Chron. xii. 33 is chiefly refuted here)¹; Exod. xii. 2 (see *ibid.*, 248, n. 3, and 253); xxiii. 15 (on the determination of the אביב, hence on the question of the intercalary month; in two versions); xxxiv. 18 (on the same subject; Jefet refers here to the second version of his commentary on xii. 2 וקר רדינא עליה פי החדש הזה לכם פי אלנסכֿה אלמזרֿה במא פיה (כפאיה); Lev. xxiii. 3 (partly the same as on Gen. i. 14); xxiii. 5 (likewise in two versions; see *J. Q. R.*, X, 249 and 253); Deut. xvi. 1 (see *ibid.*, 250 and 253); xxxiii. 18 (likewise on the proof from 1 Chron. xii. 33); and 1 Sam. xx. 27 (see *ibid.*, 251). In many of these passages Jefet affords interesting material also about the history of the calendar among various sectarians and kindred matter (see e.g., *ibid.*, 265, n. 2).

¹ The same thing is again repeated by Sahl (in Pinsker, p. 37; cf. further *infra*, p. 39), Levi b. Jefet in his ספר המצות (see כרם חמד, VIII, 56), Jeshua b. Jehuda (בראשית רבא, MS. Leyden, 41², f. 89 b), and Aaron b. Elias (גן עדן, f. 4 c; the latter two without mentioning Saadiah).

3. The kindling of fire on the Sabbath, a question likewise often discussed in Karaite polemics. The Karaites, as is well known, not only prohibit the kindling of fire on the Sabbath, but even the continued burning of anything—a severity derived, as I have shown (*R. É. J.*, XLIV, 174 seq.), from the expanded meaning of the word מלאכה. Jefet often deals with this subject, viz. Exod. iii. 2; xx. 10 (Saadiah is mentioned here only cursorily at the end: . . . ונחן נתכלם פי תחרים סראג אלסבת כלאם אוסע מן הדיא . . . פי לא תבערו אש אלדי הו מוצע אלחאנה וננקין גמיע מא דכרה ראם (אלמתיבה בעון אללה); xxxv. 3 (this is the detailed passage to which Jefet previously refers; Saadiah's entire proofs are here adduced and thoroughly refuted; cf. Pinsker, pp. 18, 90); Lev. xxiii. 3 (completely the same as on Exod. xxxv. 3); Deut. v. 13 (here Saadiah is adduced only anonymously: . . . פאן קאל קאיל אן ויבקר הו מנעטף עלי אלנאר תזרהא פי אלעבראני . . . מונתה קיל לה אלך; this conception of the word in Judges xv. 5 is that of Saadiah); xxv. 4 (see *J. Q. R.*, X, 251).

4. On the time of sacrificing the Paschal offering: Exod. xii. 6. This question is notably linked together with the Karaite interpretation of the concept בין הערבים, which deviates essentially from the Rabbinical: see my remarks in *R. É. J.*, XLV, 176 seq.

5. The fixing of the time of Pentecost, i.e. the interpretation of ממחרת השבת, one of the differences that the Karaites have taken from the Boethusians (see *Monatsschrift*, XLI, 206, and *J. Q. R.*, XVI, 407): Lev. xxiii. 15 (edited by Hirschfeld, *Arabic Chrestomathy*, p. 109 seq., Jefet's most detailed passage on this subject; cf. also *J. Q. R.*, X, 250, n. 2); Num. xxxiii. 3 (here Jefet refers to the former passage: . . . וקר כנא אוסענא אלבלאם פי אלרד עלי ראם אלמתיבה פי מא אחתאנ (ללרבונין פי אתבאת מואהבהם פי וספרתם לכם ממחרת השבת אלך; Deut. xvi. 9 (very detailed; Saadiah is not expressly mentioned here, but is designated as ארנול, once also as אלנאם ללרבאנין); Joshua v. 11 (here also Saadiah is cited only anonymously: פקר גלט מן טז אן ממחרת הפסח הו

אלך (יום סתה עשר אלך); Ezek. xlv. 12 (here also שבת signifies not festival, but Sabbath; cf. further below).

6. Laws of Purity. Of the differences existing between Rabbanites and Karaites on this point, the prescriptions about menstruous women come in specially for consideration. There are two points in particular, one concerning the interpretation of דמי טהרה in Lev. xii. 5, where the Karaites follow the severe view of the Sadducees (see Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, II, 27; cf. also below), and the other dealing with the determination of the colours in the impure blood of a menstruous woman, which, according to the Talmud, is five-fold (see, e.g., Aaron b. Elia, גן עדן, fol. 110 a seqq.; cf. also *Z. f. H. B.*, IV, 20). Jefet combats Saadiah on the first point, on Lev. xii. 7 (Saadiah says here, among other things, one must, according to Prov. xxii. 28, follow the wise: וועס אן אלחנמים אונזן דלך וקד ונב קבול דלך מנהם לקול: אלקתאב אל תסנ גבול עולם אשר עשו אבותיך אלך, and this leads Jefet to a short digression on the Oral Law); and on the second point, on Lev. xv. 19.

7. Marriage laws, notably one of the most difficult and complicated chapters in the legal lore of the Karaites, especially in regard to the forbidden degrees of relationship. Nevertheless, in his controversy with Saadiah, Jefet mostly touches only subordinate points, which are besides more of an exegetical nature. Thus, on Lev. xviii. 6, concerning the expression שאר בשר (cf. *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, p. 175; Jefet also considers here the interpretation of Ezra x. 3, on which further below); on xviii. 15, on the expression בלתי, which, according to Saadiah, includes also the son's betrothed, so that the words אשת בנך had to be added here. Much more detailed is the controversy about Levirate marriage, on xviii. 18. Here Jefet follows the opinion of 'Anân, according to which אחים, in Deut. xxv. 5, means not "brethren" but "kindred" (cf. *R. É. J.*, XLV, 61 seq.), and among other things very thoroughly refutes Saadiah's proof, that just as the prohibition of Lev. xviii. 16 is limited by the command of Deut. xxv. 5, so also a

biblical prohibition can be liable to limitation by another command (or, in other words, עשה דוחה ל"ה, cf. *R. É. J.*, XXXIV, 169), as e.g. the prohibition of Exod. xx. 10 by the command of Num. xxviii. 9¹.

8. Civil law: Exod. xxi. 24 (published and discussed in *Monatsschrift*, XLI, 205), where Jefet upholds the literal interpretation of the *jus talionis*, and at the same time disputes with Saadiah, without mentioning his name.

9. Exegetical and miscellaneous matters: Gen. i. 2 (communicated by Munk, *Notice sur Abou 'l-Walid*, p. 40, n. 1: וקד נלט מן נעל אשתקאק תהו מן תהום אלך; Saadiah is meant, see Ibn Ezra, ad loc.); xv. 9 (a refutation of Saadiah's allegorical interpretation of the kinds of beasts mentioned here, where the Gaon partly follows the Midrash²; especially interesting are Jefet's concluding words: פלו כישא (אי ראם אלמחיבה) עלי טאהרה בעאדתה פי כתיר מן אלמואצע אלכי ירד עלי מן אברז אלנעון מן טאהרה אלי אלתאויל בניר מאנע לכאן קד סלם מן (היה אלוקה אלכבירה); xix. 11 (Saadiah is said to have maintained that ויאכלו in xviii. 8 referred to Ishmael and the servants of Abraham! In the translation there is no trace of this); Exod. iii. 2 (communicated by Pinsker, p. 72; on the explanation of לבת איש³; xi. 4 (? see Munk, l. c., p. 41); xxiv. 4 (according to Saadiah what is related here happened on Sivan 9, soon after the Revelation); xxx. 12 (on פאלדי; Saadiah is quoted here anonymously):

¹ The words of Jefet in question are: וליס סביל אלאסתהני אן ירד בלפס: מחתמל ואנמא ירד בלפס מחכם מהל וביום השבת שני כנשים בני שנה אלוי אוררה אלפומי פאנה מחכם פהא אלפרק בין כי ישבו אחים ובין וביום השבת שני כנשים אלך. These words of Jefet must be the basis of Aaron b. Elias' conclusions, which are interesting though tinged with a philosophical tendency (*Gan Eden*, f. 159). Cf. also Pinsker, p. 66.

² This interpretation of Saadiah is also criticized by Dunash b. Labrat (no. 7), cf. Ibn Ezra's שם ירר, no. 7, and Lippmann's notes on it, as well as Geiger's *Wiss. Zeitschr.*, V, 311, and כרם חמר, V, 101. On the Agadic interpretation of the Vision of Beasts especially see Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apolog. Liter.*, p. 266 seq., and on Saadiah's principles in his allegories, see the passages quoted *Monatsschrift*, XLI, 208, n. 3.

³ For the original of Saadiah's commentary on this verse, see *Z. A. T. W.*, I, 152.

⁴ The particular passage from Saadiah's commentary on this verse in

(טָן אֵן כִּסְף כְּפֻרִים כֹּאן יַעֲמֵא פִי כֵל סִנֵּה אֱלֹךְ; Isa. lii. 13 (published by Neubauer, *The 53rd Chapter of Isaiah*, &c.; on the Servant of God); Jer. xxxvi. 1 (see my פתרוני רבי מנחם בר (see my חלבו לכתבי הקדש, p. 31, n. 9; the Megillah mentioned here cannot possibly mean Echa, as Saadiah following the Talmud maintains); Ezek. xlviii. 12 (according to Saadiah the form תרומיה would point to a duplication); and Dan. xii. 13 (ed. D. S. Margoliouth, p. 151; on the calculation of the year of Redemption, see my *Miscellen über Saadja*, III, 11 = *Monatsschrift*, XLIV, 410).

The tone is mostly calm and agreeable; but the demonstration is not always fortunate. But it must be remembered that the arguments of Saadiah too are very often superficial. The commentaries of Jefet, however, are also in this respect of great importance.

Nothing has yet been discovered of Jefet's polemical work against Saadiah, as has already been observed. On the other hand, a work of this kind in Hebrew, directed against a pupil of the Gaon, Jacob b. Samuel, has been preserved¹; and I have expressed the conjecture, which still needs verification, that this pupil is identical with the Jacob ibn Ephraim mentioned by Qirgisâni as his interlocutor (so that his full name must have been Jacob ben Samuel ibn Ephraim)². But as the Karaites, and especially Jefet, repeat themselves very often, and inasmuch as particularly in their anti-rabbinical campaign they almost always advance with the same arguments, it is therefore more than probable that the polemical work against Jacob contains much that Jefet also adduced against

German translation: Bacher, *Die jüd. Bibelepexese*, &c. (Treves, 1892), p. 13 seq.

¹ The heading here reads: ואלה התשובות שהשיב החכם השלם הרב רבנו יפת. הלוי המלמד הגדול בן רב עלי הלוי נ"ע ליעקב בן שמואל העקש. See corrections thereto in Geiger, *אוצר נחמד*, IV, 19 seq.

² See *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, p. 169 seq. On Jefet's controversial work, *ibid.*, p. 180 (reprint, p. xii). It is, at any rate, remarkable that the name of Jacob, as far as hitherto known, does not occur even in Jefet's commentaries.

Saadia. One would therefore be justified in briefly analysing this polemical work, more especially as Saadia also is expressly mentioned here, in the second poem : צמרת למלמדך סעדיה הנופי (i.e. from נף in Egypt) אשר דבריו מלאים דופי, והם חושבים שהם כליל יופי . . . רבך סעדיה בא מיפיפה אל ארץ דשא אכזרית, להטעות (i.e. out of Egypt, cf. Jer. xlv. 20) שונים ולחבל סמדרי פורית, כזאת עשה בן צר[ו]עה.

This polemical work consists of three sections in doggerel verses of four members, in which, after the manner of the Arabic Muwashshah songs, three members of each strophe rhyme with one another, whilst the fourth members have one common rhyme. The acrostic in all three is alphabetical¹. That they all three belong together may be inferred from the superscription of the third : אשלש אל"ף ב"ת. Possibly these were originally followed by replies in prose. Their contents are as follows:—

In the first section Jefet combats the view that there exists an Oral Law revealed by God to Moses, and employs the following four proofs : (1) Moses commands Joshua (Deut. xxxi. 11 ?) in the presence of all Israel to read the Torah ; there is no mention of an Oral Law. (2) To all questions that the son should put to his father, the Torah gives (Exod. xiii. 8, 14 &c.) such answers as can be derived from itself, but not out of any Oral Law existing beside it. (3) Moses, in his last exhortation (Deut. xxxii. 7), enjoins that questions should be asked of the ancestors, the answers to which are contained in the same address : so that here also there is no need of an oral supplement. (4) God promised the scattered members of his people he would turn to them again when they would abandon the work of man (cf. Isa. xxix. 13), among which are to be understood Mishna, Talmud, and Agada, which men invented².

¹ The fourth, with the acrostic מקצת ההרדים הוק, belongs, as Geiger, l. c., rightly recognizes, to Sahl's polemical work.

² To be sure, we cannot regard this point as an argument against tradition. In the last strophe the first two members must be reversed : תפשי הורח :

In section II the same theme is treated, and two proofs of Jacob b. Samuel for the authenticity of the Oral Law are refuted. From Jer. xvii. 21, 22 Jacob seems to have urged that the Pentateuchal laws need a supplementary Oral Law, because it does not follow from the Torah that one may not carry a burden on the Sabbath, as the prophet here insists. Jefet replies that this prohibition is to be derived from Num. iv. 13, because here the carrying of a burden is called work (לעשות מלאכה); and the sons of Kehat had only parts of the tabernacle to carry). The second proof, which Jacob repeated after Saadiah, was that from 1 Chron. xxiv. 19. Here the words כאשר צוהו, which refer to the twenty-four priestly divisions, must necessarily refer to the command of an Oral Law, as there is nothing of it contained in the Written Law. Whereupon Jefet again replies, that כאשר צוהו particularly refers to the service of the priests (hence to Num. xviii. 7); but the twenty-four divisions were indeed first introduced by David¹.

In section III various ordinances and institutions are discussed: on the one hand, it is shown that the data of Scripture for these completely suffice, contrary to the view of the Rabbis; and on the other hand again, that a part of them are not of biblical origin, as the Rabbis maintain, and hence they cannot have any validity whatsoever. For example, the Priestly Blessing² is expressly enjoined in the Torah (Num. vi. 23); but its details, as in many similar commandments, are to be derived by means of the thirteen

ה' הכהונה, המיד הוגים בה בחשק ובאהבה, המורה ויחוסה (i.e. the Oral Law) ישימו להועבת, מלים לא יעילו ולא יעילו כי ההו דמה (1 Sam. xii. 21).

¹ Saadiah can only have asserted that the priests were already grouped into divisions in the time of Moses, but not into twenty-four, for this number is ascribed to David in the Talmud also (Ta'anit Babli, 27a; "Tosefta," IV, 2, ed. Zuckermann, p. 219). Cf. also *Commentary on Chronicles*, ed. Kirchheim, p. 36 seq.; Hai's "Responsum" in קהלת שלמה, ed. Wertheimer, no. 20, as well as Maimonides and Nahmanides, "Precepts," no. 26. See also Zunz, *Literaturg. d. syn. Poesie*, p. 206.

² This and the following points must, therefore, have been advanced by Jacob as arguments for the necessity of an Oral Law.

Rules of Interpretation (which, as is known, the Karaites also accepted)¹. The libation at sacrifices is biblical, but the water-libation is a capricious addition to the words of God (for 2 Sam. xxiii. 16, e. g. has nothing to do with sacrifices), and hence to be avoided. Again, the singing of the Levites belongs to the nature of their service, and had no need to be enjoined; and if at the offering of firstfruits a hymn of thanksgiving was sung, a similar hymn with instruments must have accompanied sacrifices.—In Ezra x. 3 the Rabbis refer מִתָּם to the children, that is to say, these were also expelled from Judaism. But this is revolting; the word rather refers only to the mothers².—The different שְׁעָרִים were devised by the Talmudists, and it was particularly the Rabbis rather than the Karaites (however the latter can determine without an Oral Law what kinds of work are permitted on the Sabbath and what forbidden), who had to ask themselves how it came about that in this law, which claims to be of Divine origin, there should be so many differences of opinion. This last reproach is notably repeated by all Karaite controversialists.

13. Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ ha-Kohen (Abu-'l-Surri) is one of the most prominent, but also of the most fanatical Karaites of the older period³. He is generally considered very

¹ The thirteen Rules are also used by 'Anān and the earliest Karaites, see *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, p. 208. Cf. also Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, VIII, 1, p. xi.

² Cf. Pinsker, p. 23, n. 12, and Geiger, l. c., 21.

³ For the literature on him see Steinschneider, *Cat. Lugd.*, p. 294; *Die hebr. Übers.*, p. 964, n. 306; and *Z. f. H. B.*, VI, 184. The short article on Sahl in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, s. v. (X, 636; by Ochser), is written without any special knowledge of the subject and is not without a comic touch, for Sahl is said to have been one of the Rechabites! The Maṣliaḥ ha-Kohen (Alphab. 47 י), or Maṣliaḥ Abu 'l-Surri (Alphab. 62 י) quoted twice by Hadassi, was perhaps the son of Sahl also cited by the author of the *Hilluk* (cf. Pinsker, p. 106, l. 10; Pinsker, p. 87, n. 2, considers him to be the father of Sahl). On the other hand, the Maṣliaḥ b. Sahl ha-Kohen and Sahl b. Ṣalaḥ (see *J. Q. R.*, XVII, 632), mentioned in a Pentateuch Codex of the Karaite Synagogue, might have been descendants of our Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ. These two are brought into connexion with the Massorete, Misha'el b. Uzziel, who probably lived in the twelfth century (see Steinschneider, *Arab. Liter. d. Juden*, § 167).

Noah flourished (according to Ibn al-Hiti) about 393 of the Hegira (=1002-3), and Levi wrote at the beginning of the eleventh century¹. That Sahl speaks of the period of Saadiah as of that of his predecessors, agrees with these facts (see Pinsker, p. 36: ולפני מזה בימי הפיתומי).

Sahl also composed a special controversial work against Saadiah, which he mentions in the same list, and which is likewise lost. But he must have disputed violently with the Gaon in his other works also, of which two, both in Arabic, deserve particular consideration. In the first place, there is a commentary on the Pentateuch, of which a fragment on Deuteronomy is said to exist in a MS. in St. Petersburg (*Z. A. T. W.*, I, 157). The part on Deuteronomy was also used in an anonymous Karaite compilation of the year 1351 (MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 2498, Cat. Margol., I, no. 334, cf. also below No. 38). But another MS. fragment on Exodus, at St. Petersburg, is said to belong perhaps also to Sahl, and here there are two passages against Saadiah. In the one (communicated by Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, V, 225) Saadiah's contention, that 'Anân taught that the new month should be fixed by observation of the moon only in order that the Mahommedans (whose custom was the same) should appoint him head of the Jews, is rebutted with great indignation. The reproach is levelled against himself, that in his attempt to succeed to the leadership he relied upon the Mahommedans and desecrated the Sabbath, and that during the strife with David b. Zakkai, his opponents turned to every community with a ban against the man who wanted to attain office in such a manner. In another passage (communicated by the same in his edition of *Qirqisâni*, p. 254, n. 4, and *Otcherki*, I, 11, n. 3) Saadiah's assumption, that the

לה לאנה] אלהצר תסירה ורץ עליה (ms. עלי) פי ספר מצות אלוי לה
refer to Abu Said, i.e. to Levi; see Steinschneider, *Z. f. H. B.*, I, c.; *ibid.*,
I, 19: פי כניסת אלקראין בדמשק ראו (ראית I) גזו מן תפסיר ספר ויקרא רקא ומן גמלה: I, 19:
מא קאל אלמעלם אבו אלסרי פי מנאקצתה לבן נח לה. 2. סנה פי אלקדם אלשריף אלך.

¹ See my *Zür jüd.-arab. Litter.*, p. 6.

calculation of the calendar was first introduced in consequence of the advent of Sadok and Boethos, is disputed. But I have already expressed the conjecture that the author of this fragment is perhaps Ḥasan b. Mashiah (see p. 16).

A second important work of Sahl was a *ספר המצות* in Arabic (of which there are fragments in St. Petersburg), with a Hebrew introduction (edited by Harkavy in *מאסף*, נרחים, I, no. 13 = המליץ, 1879, cols. 639-43), which contains much valuable information about the Jews in Jerusalem in the time of the author (see *R. É. J.*, XLVIII, 154), and is also otherwise very interesting. According to Steinschneider (*Z. f. H. B.*, VI, 185), this work is perhaps identical with the *ספר דינים* of Sahl cited by Samuel al-Magribi (Pinsker, p. 144). But it is more probable that Sahl treated ritual and civil law matters in two works, like Benjamin al-Nahawendi before him, of whose *ספר המצות* some fragments have recently become known (collected by Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, VIII, 1, pp. 175-84), and whose *ספר דינים* on Civil Law is printed under the title (probably invented later) of *משנת בנימין*. In his law-book also, as a matter of course, Sahl disputed with Saadiah, and perhaps this book is the origin of a passage (communicated by Harkavy in Saadiah's *Œuvres*, IX, p. xlii) in which the Fayyumite is reproached with not recognizing analogy as a legal noun, contrary to the Thirteen Rules instituted by the Talmudists: *ויקול (אי אלפיומי) אן סדר עולם אלדי פיה קאל*: רבי יוסי בעשרים ובחמשה באלול נברא העולם הזה אגדה ואין סומכין על דברי אגדה אלך¹. ואסקט אלקיאם פי אלשרע ותרך מא קאלוה פי צרר תורת כהנים מן שלש עשרה מדות התורה נדרשת ולפנטה נדרשת פהי

¹ That Saadiah did not hold the Agada as a standard authority follows also from the above-mentioned fragment of his polemical work against Ibn Saqaweihi (No. 2), where he reproaches the latter with having derived arguments for his assertions not from Mishna, Mekhilta, and Targum, but from Agadot, from unauthenticated writings, and from Piyutim (*J. Q. R.*, XIII, 664: *ואם יסחשדר עלי קולה בשי ממה פי אלמשנה ולא*: אלמכאלות ולא אלהרגום ואמא אחי בה שעב בעצמה מן אלאגאדאט ובעצמה מן כתב לא (שהארה עליה ובעצמה מן אלהאנה אלך). It is also interesting to establish the fact that the expression *על דברי אגדה* וואן סמכין, which also occurs in Sherira

חדל עלי אלאסתכראנז ואלקיאם לאנהם לם יקולו נמצאת פכאן יקול קאיל
 אנהא מונודה פי אלנקל¹.

Moreover, according to a conjecture of Harkavy, Sahl is perhaps the author of an Arabic lampoon against Saadiah, in which is included a similar Hebrew lampoon of one of Saadiah's most ardent opponents, namely, of the Gaon Aaron (or Khalaf, cf. *R. É. J.*, XLIX, 300) ibn Sarjâdo, as well as the libellous document of the deposition of David b. Zakkai (edited as far as extant, and completely discussed last, by Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, V, 222 seq.). In any case Sahl's authorship is very doubtful, for in the first place the previously mentioned fragment on Exodus, which offers some parallels to this lampoon, originates rather from Ben Mashiah than from Sahl; and in the second place, Harkavy himself admits that everything seems to point to the Karaite author of this work having been a contemporary of Saadiah, and having lived in Irâq. But we know that Sahl probably wrote in the last third of the tenth century, and that he sojourned in Jerusalem². Besides, as this work is purely personal, and does not touch on any legal or other points of difference between Rabbanites and Karaites, it does not exactly fall within the scope of this dissertation, and it is only mentioned here incidentally.

Sahl, like Jefet, composed a polemical work, not only against Saadiah, but also against his pupil, Jacob b.

(see *Eshkol*, ed. Auerbach, II, 47) and Hai (*Responsa*, ed. Lyck, no. 98), is already found in Saadiah, and was perhaps coined by him.

¹ Harkavy wavers between Sahl and Jeshua b. Jehuda, but the authorship of the first should be more probable: see his polemical work (soon to be mentioned) against Jacob b. Samuel (in Pinsker, p. 26): הוי ס[ו]ררי דבריהם ולא ידעו בושת, האומרים יש תורה בפה עם המשת, והלא כהוב בהורח כהנים שלהם מפורשת, משלש עשרה מרות ההורה נדרשת. [It may be remarked, by the way, that the passage cited in *Œuvres*, l. c., from a commentary on Exodus, is actually derived from Jefet's commentary, on xxi. 33; see above, p. 22.]

² This follows not only from the preface to the ס' המצוה mentioned above, but also from many passages of the polemical work against Jacob b. Samuel; see, e.g., Pinsker, p. 27 below: אני מבית המקדש באתי להודיע את בני בית המקדש here in the sense of the Arabic بيت المقدس, i. e. Jerusalem).

Samuel, which has now been edited from a copy of Elias b. Baruch Jerushalmi (Pinsker, p. 25 seq.)¹. Elias is probably also the author of the title תוכחת מגלה or אגרת התוכחת. It is written in Hebrew, but Sahl also intended to publish it eventually also in Arabic, so that those ignorant of Hebrew could also read it (p. 25: . . . ואולי אכתוב פתשגן הכתב : (הזה בלשון ישמעאל למען שיקרא בו מי שלא ידע לשון יהודית וכו'), but we do not know whether he carried out this project. Sahl's work has more the character of a reply, as it was preceded by letters of Jacob to Sahl, both in Hebrew and in Arabic². In any case the assertion of a controversialist so passionate and relentless as Sahl was, seems rather comical, that he took up his pen against Jacob only because the latter in his polemics indulged in irony and sarcasm (p. 31: ולולי כי דברייך כמתלהלה היוורה זקים לא הייתי כותב אלה הדברים). The style is lively, but too pathetic and too propagandist³. Here and there one also meets various Arabisms⁴.

The polemical work in its existing condition is not a uniform composition. At the beginning there is a poem with the acrostic סהל בן מצליח הכהן הקרא מקצת החרדים חזק

¹ Corrections and variants in Geiger, *אוצר נחמד*, IV, 22 seq. Cf. also *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, pp. 180, 181.

² Cf. above, p. 31, then the passage (in Pinsker, p. 239): כי כתבתי אלי אגרת: בלשון ישמעאל.

³ Many expressions are verbally repeated here and in the above-mentioned Hebrew preface to the *מס' המצות*, thus, e. g., ואם ערלה פנימה לא (המליץ, col. 639, l. 34, and Pinsker, p. 43, l. 16); ומאכלה בשר ושחוח יין נושאן ובחורת ה' דבקן ועל דלתותיו שקרו ושמרו (ibid., l. 2, from bottom; Pinsker, p. 31, l. 10). Pinsker, p. 31, l. 1 seq., is a complete *Kinna*. Sahl could not free himself, too, from Talmudical turns of expression, see Pinsker, 24, l. 3 from bottom: וראיתך מבקש גורלה לעצמך: (קנין תורה). Also interesting is the phrase (p. 26, l. 22): מאגורתי: סבל הירושה, which reminds one of the well-known *מס' המצות* כלם.

⁴ Thus *המקדש* בית המקדש (see p. 34, n. 2), then the expression *מקצת החרדים* (= בעץ אלנשישין? see following note), &c.

⁵ Divided in Pinsker by mistake into two (pp. 26 and 24), and the other half ascribed to Jefet, see Geiger, l. c., p. 20. That the poem forms a rounded-off whole is shown by the conclusion (p. 25); on the other hand, in the poem as well as in the epistle and in the actual polemical work, one and the same phrase of Jacob b. Samuel, in which the word *חררה* occurs, is alluded to: see p. 24, l. 4 from bottom; p. 27, l. 16, and

in which it is particularly and emphatically shown that the Oral Law cannot be of divine origin, as the teachers of the Mishna themselves were of divided opinion on many questions. Probably to this poem was attached an epistle, the beginning of which is missing¹, and in which grammatical and even orthographical errors of Jacob are pointed out, Sahl remarking that he found nearly sixty such errors in the letters of his opponent (p. 72: ועד הנה קרוב לששים שגגות מצאתי באגרותיך). But as a matter of fact, the errors branded by Sahl (where, e.g. כסיררי, קידה, &c., are written *plene*) are not errors at all, for this mode of writing was usual in the time of the Geonim in order to facilitate the reading of words without vowels.

The actual controversy begins with the words (p. 27): אני מבית המקדש באתי להזהיר את בני עמי Jacob b. Samuel; but it is really directed principally against the Rabbanites, as it is more in the nature of an admonitory and missionary pamphlet, in which Sahl appeals incessantly to the followers of the Talmud to abandon their former conduct and to walk in the only right way, the way of the Karaites: "Have mercy, O Israelites," he exclaims in one passage (p. 34), "upon your souls and your children! Behold, the light is burning, and the sun shines forth (i. e. Karaism). Choose for yourselves the good path, where there is living water, and walk not in a waste and waterless land (i. e. Talmudism)," &c. "Brethren!" he exclaims in another passage (p. 43),

p. 30, l. 14 from bottom. By חרדים Sahl understands his rather strict co-religionists, see p. 36, l. 17: ענה אחינו הלא מוב ללכת אחרי החרדים (cf. also p. 26, l. 1: כי הוא אלהינו ואנחנו עם מרעינו כי לקחו אנחנו חרדים: . . .).

¹ This follows from the opening words (p. 27, l. 16): שר כתבתי אלי באגרת (The piece, p. 25, l. 26—p. 26, l. 5, seems to be the continuation of p. 27, l. 3 from bottom (if the words of Elias Jerushalmi, p. 25, l. 24, refer to it: ומפני שיש לו ו"ל תשובות כגובות לפני ואת האגרת כתב הנה בזה הלשון); and here also the conclusion shows that this epistle forms an independent whole. According to Elias (p. 25, l. 12), Sahl is said to have written besides this epistle ten further replies (i. e. letters most likely) to Jacob. But is this based on reality?

"hearken not unto those who say that the Karaites (בני מקרא) wish you evil. God forbid! Verily we pray unto God, that he should have mercy upon his people, the remnant of Israel, and be mindful of the love for our forefathers. We write all this only out of love for you: circumcise the foreskin of your heart, for the time has come to awake from the sleep of the exile." In a similar strain he goes on reproving the Rabbanites repeatedly for their numerous sins, and accuses them of transgressing many prescriptions of the law respecting diet, purity, marriage, and the Sabbath (pp. 28-30, 32)¹, of being devoted to superstition (p. 32)², &c. And if many of the Rabbanites of Palestine have entered upon a better course, that is due to the influence of the Karaites (p. 33), whose ascetic mode of life Sahl describes in eloquent words (p. 31). The allegorical allusions of many verses are also interesting, as, e. g. Canticles i. 8 (p. 34), and iii. 7 (p. 36; cf. Geiger, l. c., p. 24); Zech. xi. 12 (ibid.) and 14 (p. 42). In the last verse he makes the staff נעם symbolize the empire of the heathen nations, which is styled "grace," because these nations have not destroyed the religion of Israel; by the staff הכלים is meant the yoke of the two women (Zech. v. 9), i. e. of the two *Jeshiboth* in Sura and Pumbeditha, which by means of Talmud and Agada "have destroyed the vineyard of the Lord" (מחבלים כרם ה' צבאות). This staff will now be broken, i. e. the traditional writings

¹ They are mostly such prescriptions in which the Karaites differ from the Rabbanites, and are inclined to the severer view; thus, with regard to the enjoyment of an embryo (קבוש or שליל) and of the fat tail (אליה), the adoption of a minimum (שערים) in the mixing of clean and unclean food, the marrying of a step-sister (בת אשת אב) and a childless sister-in-law (יבמה), &c. Almost all Karaites, from Qirqisani and Salmon to Firkowitsch, are not tired of repeating these complaints.

² This passage is of especial interest for the history of culture: ואיך . . . אחרש ודרכי עובדי עבודה זרה בין מקצת בני ישראל יושבים בקברים ולנים בנצורים ודורשים אל הממים ואומרים ר' יוסי הגלילי רפאני הבטיני ומדליקים הנרות על קברי הצדיקים ומקשרים לשניהם על הלבנים וקושרים עקרים על התמר של הצדיק לכל מיני הלאים וחוגגים ומקשרים לשניהם על הלבנים וקושרים עקרים על התמר של הצדיק לכל מיני הלאים וחוגגים וכו' (partly repeated in Hadassi, Alphab. (= ויחַוּן) על קברי הצדיקים הממים וכו' 104; cf. also Bacher, *Agada d. Tann.*, I², 354, n. 5).

will be given over to destruction, and thus their declaration (אחור in the sense of אחר, Job xv. 17!) will be suppressed¹.

As can be seen, there is hardly anything of a personal controversy here with Jacob b. Samuel, but the attack is all the more violent against his teacher, Saadiah, whose name is accompanied by abusive epithets (p. 40: הור הרשע; האיש הרע התועה והמתעה המסית ומדיח את עם [ישראל] מדרך הטוב (סעדיה הפיתומי העקש הפותי [הפיתומי] ואת הישרה עקש). Besides the passage already quoted in this dissertation, where Sahl relates that Saadiah avoided disputing with Karaites, and did not publish his anti-Karaite writings during his lifetime, whereupon there follows a list of the Karaite controversialists (Pinsker, p. 37); it is also related of the Fayyumite that in consequence of his persuasive arts² a dispute about the festivals broke out between the Palestineans and the Babylonians, so that they observed the festivals on different days, and hurled the ban against one another. I have shown (*J. Q. R.*, X, 154) that what is meant here is Saadiah's campaign against Ben Meir, in the year 921, which is now pretty well explained, and that Sahl's statements rest upon facts throughout.

Much more detailed is a complete excursus in which Saadiah's well-known theory of the great age of the calculation of the calendar is refuted (Pinsker, p. 37, l. 7 from bottom—p. 42, l. 25)³. Only one of the Gaon's proofs is there combated, namely, that from 1 Chron. xii. 33: ומבני יששכר יורעי בינה לעתים לדעת מה יעשה ישראל.

¹ Jefet interprets this word similarly in Cant. iii. 2 (ed. Bargès, p. 41), although he gives a different allegorical explanation to the entire verse. In his MS. commentary, ad loc., he refers to the vision of the two women to the Talmudic colleges of both countries, Palestine and Babylon (ואמא שתי נשים כהי אלתהינתן אלהי אלוהיה באשם ואלאכרי באלעראק) . . . ; and further : ואמא שתי נשים ודם רוסא אלתהינתן אלקאלין באלמשנה ואלחומר אלהי : (דפערדא פי אלשוואק אלתהי). Cf. also Hadassi, f. 10 a infra (letters ש and ה).

² Pinsker, p. 28 : ולפני מזה בימי הפיתומי אשר פתה אנשים, a play on words.

³ This excursus is not free from errors and repetitions, which cannot well be removed here. Whether Saadiah is meant by the כהנה (p. 28, l. 14), as Geiger (l. c., p. 23) presumes, is uncertain.

The sons of Issachar had, according to Gaon, understanding of the times (i. e. of the principles of the calendar), and let Israel know when they should "make," i. e. observe, the festivals. The verb עשה is also used of the observance of festivals, see Deut. xvi. 1, 10, 13. Sahl replies, not without humour, that the sons of Issachar fixed only the time of the paschal offering (for Deut. xvi. 1 refers only to this), of Pentecost, and of Tabernacles, but not that of the remaining festivals, in connexion with which that verb is not used. On the other hand, they must have taught the order of the festival offerings, the recurrence of the Sabbath, &c., because here תעשו (Num. xxix. 39) and לעשות (Deut. v. 15) are used respectively. In the same way the counsellors of Ahasuerus must have calculated the calendar, because they are called יורעי העתים (Esther i. 13). Finally, Saadiah contradicts himself, as he elsewhere maintains that the fixing of the calendar lay in the hands of the Sanhedrim, and he contradicts the Talmud, which speaks of torches used as signals on the determination of the new month, and of witnesses who were questioned about the new moon, and who, on that account, might desecrate the Sabbath (see Mishna, *Rosh ha-Shanah*, II)¹. Indeed, Sahl continues, the command for the observation of the calendar follows from Gen. i. 14, Ps. lxxxix. 38 and civ. 19, and calculation is strictly forbidden according to Deut. xviii. 10². Sahl also

¹ These objections are repeated, partly in the same words, by Jefet and his son Levi, then by Jeshua b. Jehuda and Aaron b. Elias, see above, p. 23. The words of the last but one (MS. Leyden, 41², f. 89b) are as follows: ומהם אמר ומנני יששכר יורעי בינה לעתים אשר החפץ בו הבינה דעת החשבון ואמר ולעתים החפץ בהם עתות המועדים אמר וכל אחיהם על פיהם יורה על היות ישראל כלם שבים אליהם בזה השער וגם זה מושחת מאיפמים הא' כי השמיכה על דבר איש באין ראיה רע והוא אלהקלד (cf. *R. E. J.*, XLIV, 183, n. 4) והב' כי זה לא יורה [f. 90a] על אשר אמרו אבל הקרוב בו היות אלה יורעי בינה לעתות המלחמה והב' כי אם היה ישוב אל החשבון השוב השבי אותו אל הכהנים אשר הם טוב יותר מנני יששכר והב' כי היה כבר אמר בגלל היום יורע בינה להורם אבי ואם היה אמר פה יורעי בינה לעתים יגוש אשר אמר אותו כן יחייב [גם כן] זה והוא אליל (i. e. null) והד' כי מצאנו אותו ויאמר המלך להכמים יורעי העתים (Esther i. 13) ואין החפץ בו כמו אשר אמרו ויש שם אופנים הרבה להשחית אלה הראיות כלם ואולם קצתני אותם.

² That is to say, the calculation of the calendar system is to be regarded

adopted the same story, with a few unimportant deviations (*Eshkol*, Alphab., 192 ה-194 י), probably drew from Sahl.

14. An anonymous Karaite author, whose work (in Arabic) is partly extant in a St. Petersburg MS., and who (among other things) controverted a passage from Saadiah's Arabic commentary on the ספר הנלי (edited by Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, V, 195), must likewise belong to the tenth century. Evidence of his antiquity is afforded by the fact that he quotes nobody but 'Anân, Benjamin al-Nahawendi, and Saadiah. This Karaite quotes from the work of Saadiah just mentioned, that the compilation of the Mishna began forty years after the restoration of the second Temple and was closed 130 years after its destruction, thus amounting (as the second Temple stood 420 years, according to tradition) to 510 years¹; secondly, that there were eleven generations of Mishna-doctors (see *ibid.* 196, n. 11); and thirdly, that the latter generation fixed the Mishna in writing because they feared, in consequence of the cessation of prophecy and the increasing dispersion, that the tradition might fall into oblivion. The anonymous Karaite replies (see *ibid.* 196, n. 13), that if the Mishna rests on true tradition, why was such a long period necessary for its compilation, whence the many differences of opinion, &c. They are the usual objections that all the older Karaites advance in their controversy upon these points: e. g. Qirqisâni, section ii, chap. 13 seq.²; Salmon b. Jeroḥam (cf. *J. Q. R.*, VIII,

¹ In the original it reads: ... אן אלעבא אבחרו בחרין אלמשה מן ארבעין סנה ... זלת מן בנא אלביח אלחאמי ועלי מאיה וכמסין סנה בעד זראב אלביח וזלך זמס מאיה ועשר סנן. These numbers do not agree with one another (for $420 - 40 + 150 = 530$), and Harkavy (p. 195, n. 6) therefore emends זמס מאיה ועשר into מ' וחלוקן. but it must be corrected reversely מאיה וחלוקן into זמסין וכמסין. The last date is given by Saadiah himself in his polemical work against Ibn Sâqaweihî (*J. Q. R.*, XVI, 108, l. 4 from bottom): ... ואלו אבר רקח אבואת: אלמשה וזלך בעד זראב אלביח אלחאמי קל סנה.

² Only a part of chaps. 14 and 15 (see above, p. 10) is preserved, where in chap. 14 Saadiah's arguments for the authenticity of the Oral Law are advanced, and in chap. 15 they are refuted (partly edited in *Z. f. H. B.*, III, 175, 176). Yet Qirqisâni says here expressly that he will deal with this theme again in further chapters, and that he has already dealt with it in chap. 13 (MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 2580, f. 49 a): ואמא מא אכברה (אי אלפוימי) בה:

687 seq.); Jefet b. 'Ali on Exod. xxi. 33 (see *ibid.* n. 6, and above, p. 22), &c. It may here be observed that both, Qirgisâni and Jefet, make verbal quotations from Saadiah on the questions dealt with here, and it is therefore possible that both used the Arabic commentary on the ספר הנלי.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

15. **Levi b. Jefet ha-Levi**, a son of the famous Bible exegete, is also designated "the teacher (אלמערלם) 'Abû Saïd¹." The name Abu Hâshim, on the other hand, is based on a confusion with a Mahommedan philosopher of the same name, whose father was also called Abu 'Ali [al-Jubbai]. Levi has composed in Arabic commentaries on the Bible, which, unlike those of his father, were merely short glosses, and hence bear the name נכת. There remains of them a part on Genesis (MS. at St. Petersburg), but Levi's authorship is doubtful (see *Z. A. T. W.*, I, 158); and the British Museum possesses fragments on Joshua (Cat. Margoliouth, I, no. 308¹ and 330¹¹)², Judges (no. 330¹²), and perhaps also on Psalms (no. 336¹). I have also already expressed the conjecture (*R. É. J.*, XLI, 307), that the ר' לוי, quoted by Ibn Ezra in three passages (Gen. i. 11, long commentary, ed. Friedländer, p. 28; Ps. vii. 10 and xxxv. 13), is perhaps ours.

More important than this commentary is a Book of Precepts, ספר המצות, composed by Levi, which contains the date of composition (Pinsker, p. 90) 397 of the Hegira (=1006-7). Fragments of the Arabic original are also extant in the British Museum (Cat., no. 309² and probably also

מן כניסה אלנקל וקולה באן אלתוראה כתבת פי סנה אלארבען ומא אחבעה מן אלכלאם . . . וסנשרחה פימא בער. ואמא מא ארעאה מן אן אלעמא עמרו אלי אלעם אלתקליד פרעיה וסמנה משנה ובקר פרועה ואן אלהאמיר דלנו מא בקי מן אלפרוע וסמנו דלך תלמוד פקר הקדם אפסאדנא לולך פי אלבאב אלהל עשר ובינא דלך מן וגוה ערה וליסת בנא האנה אלי עזרחא אלך.

¹ See on him finally Steinschneider, *Die arab. Liter. d. Juden*, § 46, also my *Zur jüd.-arab. Litt.*, p. 49, and *Jew. Encycl.*, s. v. (VIII, 33).

² The first of these two MSS. originally contained Levi's commentary on all the earlier prophets, as is evident from the superscription given in the Catalogue.

no. 308²). A Hebrew translation is at Oxford (Cat. Neub. 857), Leyden (Cat. Steinschneider, 22), and St. Petersburg (Firk. 613, and in the Asiatic Museum, cf. *Z. f. H. B.*, X, 26), and many passages from it have been communicated by Schorr (ברם חמר, VIII, 56), Pinsker (pp. 89-92), and Harkavy (*Stud. u. Mitt.*, VIII, 1, 132-135). It is from this work that the various quotations among the later Karaites must be derived, and it is evident from them that Levi was inclined to mitigation and was also in other respects of a gentle nature¹. Cf. the quotations in Hadassi (*Eshkol*, 187 י, 201 מ, 241 פ, and 257 ר); Aaron b. Joseph (*Mibhar* on Exod., fol. 17 b, and on Lev., fol. 15 b; he calls him both times אביו השם); Aaron b. Elias (גן עדן, fol. 7 b, 17 a, 18 b, 31 b and c, 33 d, 39 a, 49 a, 67 c, 113 a, 114 a, 123 b and c, 148 c [where יפת בן], 163 d, 167 c, 169 a, and 178 b; בחר תורה, on Exod. fol. 71 b and 72 a, and on Num. fol. 26 b); Elias Bashiatshi (*Adderet* preface; ענין קדוש החדש c. 5, 14, 15, 34, and 37; ע' שבת pref. and c. 4, 7, 12, 17, 19, and 20; חג המצות c. 2, 6; חג השבועות pref. and c. 3, 6, and 9; טמאה וטהרה c. 10, 5; שחיטה c. 7, 13; סדר העריות c. 3; סדר נשים c. 1, 5; ס' ירושה c. 2, 3) and Caleb Afendopolo (additions to *Adderet*, שמטה ויובל c. 6, 13, 15, 17 and 18; בלאי בהמה c. 2; בלאי זריעה c. 2 and 6; בלאי בנדים c. 3; שבועה c. 5, 6, 7, and 12).

Levi did not compose any special work against Saadiah, as he expressly states in his "Book of Precepts" (see Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.*, 2164, and Pinsker, p. 89): ואם באנו שנדבר על כל טענותינו (ר"ל של סעדיא הפיתומי) על ההעתקה וכל אשר עליו מן הקושיות נצטרך לספר מופרד. Hence he indulges in pretty frequent polemics against the Gaon in the book mentioned, and touches upon most of the usual points of dispute². He naturally deals most frequently and most circumstantially with the questions referring to the

¹ Cf. also P. Frankl's article, "Karaiten," in *Ersch u. Gruber*, II, 33, p. 20, n. 56.

² Besides the excerpts printed, I have also at my disposal copies of many passages from the Oxford MS.

calendar, but he only repeats the arguments of his predecessors. Thus, he too refutes Saadiah's proof of the great age of the calendar-system, derived from 1 Chron. xii. 33, almost with the same arguments as Sahl used before him and Jeshua after him (ברם המר, l. c., and MS. Bodl., fol. 4 a). He likewise tries to invalidate Saadiah's assertion, that the observation of the moon cannot have been commanded by God as a precept, as its fulfilment cannot always be carried out, in consequence of the moon not being always visible (MS., fol. 6 b; in *Gan Eden*, fol. 6 a, cited as קושיא רביעית and refuted). He also combats Saadiah's view, that והיו in Gen. i. 14 refers to day and night (*J. Q. R.*, XVII, 170), and, with particular violence, the Gaon's rather strange interpretation, that those passages of the Talmud testifying against the validity of the *Dehijot* are to be conceived figuratively (MS., fol. 13 b)¹. In another passage again (Pinsker, p. 20; MS., fol. 18 a), he mentions that Saadiah reproachfully asked the Karaites, whence they knew that אביב means "ripe corn" and not the name of the month, just as there is a place תל אביב (Ezra iii. 15). Levi does not name Saadiah here expressly, but designates him rather remarkably as one of the modern Rabbanites (יורבר מי אמר מן הרבנים החדשים); but we know from Aaron b. Elias (fol. 16 d), that Saadiah is meant by this (cf. also Hadassi, *Alphab.*, 190 ס seq., who likewise quotes Saadiah only anonymously). In addition to questions of

... ועוד נזכיר אחר זה קצת מדבריהם בנפול המועדים בימים אשר אינם נכשרים היום¹. מן המסורת אשר תקנו אותם אחר שעשו על החשבון והם לא בר' פסח . . . אמרו בתוספתא לולב דוחה את השבת [בהחלתו ועריבה בסופו] (see *Tos. Sukka*, III, 1) . . . ואשר אמר הפתומי כי אמרם תל הוא על דרך רדיפה וכן היה אומ' לו היה יום ערבה בשבת איך יהיה חייב שיעשה יהיה אומר לו זכרתם מעשה שזכר אותו וכו'. All the Karaites attack this weak position of Saadiah, which they storm with success, selecting their weapons from the Talmudic arsenal, especially Salmon (cap. iv-vi; cf. *J. Q. R.*, X, 271), Hadassi (*Alphab.* 185), and Aaron b. Elias (*Gan Eden*, cap. v, קדוש החדש, cap. v). Levi also returns to the subject in another passage (see Pinsker, p. קיב, n. 1). Saadiah's contentions in the matter, which were hitherto known only from Abraham b. Hija's ספר העבור (ed. Filipowski, pp. 59, 60), are now partly also accessible in the form of fragments from the Gaon's original writings. See *J. Q. R.*, l. c., p. 263.

calendar-science, Levi also deals particularly with the Oral Law (MS., fol. 14 a), cites the passage from *Jerushalmi Berakhot* (והוא שאמר בתלמוד ברכות ארץ כנען) on the attitude towards the differences of the Shammaites and Hillelites (*Jer.* ed. Venice, fol. 3b, l. 6 from bottom), and mentions Saadiah's objection to the application of the method of analogy . . . כי הראיה והדרישה ישחית [ו] ההעתקה כי כן אמר) הפיתומי כי התורות לא יעשה בה ההקשה כי הפרחים הם רודפות אחרי העיקרים וכי יהיו העיקרים מן התורות יתכן להיות פרחיהם &c. (כן וכו'.

Other points touched on by Levi are: the burning of fire on the Sabbath (Pinsker, p. 90), where Saadiah's attack upon the proof from Jud. xv. 5, advanced by all Karaites since Salmon b. Jeroḥam, is refuted¹; the meaning of ממחרת השבת (see Pinsker, p. 92); the enjoyment of an embryo (MS., fol. 80 a), where Saadiah's argument from Lev. xxvii. 32 is controverted anonymously (וואשר אמר) . . . הלא אם יעבר השה או זולתו מן הבהמות במספר תחת השבטים תחשב . . . cf. *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, p. 178, n. 2), as well as the enjoyment of the fat tail forbidden by the Karaites (אליה, MS., fol. 88 b). Here also Levi disputes the views of Saadiah anonymously, and contrary to his usual custom employs an insulting expression: וזה הממרה שבקש ממנו פתרונה אמר לנו כי אם תפתרו: אותה תרבא והוא שם המכסה את הקרב בלשון ישמעאל יתחייב עליכם להתיר אשר איננו תרבא מפני כי האליה יקרא חרב בלשון ישמעאל . . . ראה: c. 18: ענין שחיטה, *Adderet*, cf. Bashiatchi's

¹ In this verse the first ויבער means "to kindle," and the other "to cause to be consumed," because in both the subject is Samson: hence the kindling and the maintaining of fire on the Sabbath are forbidden from לא הבערו. Salmon has this argument first (in his polemical work, cap. xii), and most of the Karaites repeat it (see Hadassi, *Alphab.* 145 v; Aaron b. Elias' *Gan Eden*, f. 29 b, &c.). Our Levi especially, who elsewhere holds all Karaite arguments for the prohibition of fire-burning on the Sabbath as not sound enough, admits the validity of this one alone; see *Adderet*, סוף דבר כונת החכם רבינו לוי שכל הראיות שהביאו חכמינו: 18, ענין שבת, באזור הדלקת הנר הן בשלות זולת הראיה שהביא מפסוק הנאמר בשמשון ויבער מגדש ועד קמה.

שנית טען מר סעדיה הפיתומי ואמר . . . איך יתורגם בלשון ערבי ואם (תתרגמו הרבא . . . יתחייב להתיר זולתו וכו'.

16. Joseph b. Abraham ha-Kohen, known under the name of הרואה (Arab. al-Baṣīr), is the most important Karaite philosopher of the older period¹. He was confused quite early with Qirqisāni, and was regarded as older than the latter; but it is now established that he belongs to the first half of the eleventh century, as he already disputes with Samuel b. Ḥofni. Of his numerous philosophical and religio-legal works, which have only been partly preserved, chief consideration is here due to his "Book of Precepts," כתאב אלאסתבצאר (composed 428 of the Hegira = 1036/7)². Al-Baṣīr probably controverts Saadiah often here, but so far only a single passage from a compendium of this work (MS. in St. Petersburg) is known, in which the *Mekhilta* on XII, 2 a is used against Saadiah [and Samuel b. Ḥofni] to show that the present calendar cannot be so old³. One section of the *al-Istibṣār* on the Festivals (מקאלה אלמועדים)⁴ was translated by Tobias b. Moses as a separate work under the title ספר המועדים (also MS. in St. Petersburg), and here also, at the very beginning, is mentioned that Saadiah's view, that אביב can also signify the name of the month (and not ripe corn), has already been sufficiently refuted by earlier Karaites: . . . ודע כי בארנו . . . בספר האביב מהו ומה דמותו (של חדש האביב) על מה אתה תמצא

¹ See on him Steinschneider, l.c., § 50 (also my *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, p. 50 and Goldziher, *R. É. J.*, XLIX, 224). According to Firkowitsch (בני רשף, p. 21) he was not a Kohen.

² See Ibn al-Hiti (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 434, l. 2): . . . ונזרח שי מן אלאסתבצאר אלדי לה: (J. Q. R., IX, 434, l. 2). Cf. also Firkowitsch, l. c., p. 22. One section of the *al-Istibṣār* on the law of inheritance (MS. Brit. Mus. 2576¹; Catalogue, vol. II, no. 591¹) is dated Dhu-l-Qa'da 409 of the Hegira = March, 1019. (Another fragment of the al-Baṣīr on the 'Omer, contained in the MS. Brit. Mus. 2570, Cat., no. 596, is probably also taken from the *al-Istibṣār*, cf. *R. É. J.*, LI, 158.)

³ Published by Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, III, n. 120. Another passage, given there also, on Gen. i. 14, is perhaps also directed against Saadiah.

⁴ This section is cited under this title by al-Baṣīr in *Muḥtawī*, see Frankl, *Beitr. z. Literaturgesch. d. Karäer*, p. 7.

אותו שמה ועם צחות דבור הפיומי כי אמר זה יבוא כמו ירח בול' וחדש זו ותל' אביב כאשר הוא די מן אשר דברו אליו חכמים בעלי מקרא עם דלות דבורו ובארנו כי דבור שמואל (i. e. Samuel b. Hofni) יש לו¹ הווק על דבורו והשתתנו אותו וכו'.

From the *Kitab al-Istibṣār* must also have come certain chapters that are extant in an Oxford MS. (MS. Heb. f. 12, fols. 9 b–44 b; Cat., Vol. II, no. 2789), and from which I have already published many things (*J. Q. R.*, VIII, 701 seq.). This MS. is dated Sivan 5344 (1584), gives the impression of a commonplace book, and also contains something by Joseph al-Baṣīr, including polemical remarks against Saadiah. In the first place (fol. 9 a), there is a piece taken, not direct from al-Baṣīr, but from a controversial work of Natan [b. Jehuda] against Saadiah². Here some of Saadiah's proofs for the great age of the calendar-system are refuted, e. g., that based on the Talmudic sayings (*Rosh ha-Shana*, 19 b): אדר הסמוך and מימות עזרא ואילך לא מצינו אלול מעובר: לניסן לעולם חסר. Then Saadiah's assertion that והיו in Gen. i. 14 refers not to the luminaries of heaven but to day and night—a point that often recurs in Karaite polemics³. Saadiah is further controverted in a section on ממחרת השבת (fol. 17 a), and especially is his attack on the Karaite argument from Josh. v. 11 rebutted⁴, and his interpretation of Ezek. xlvi. 12 overthrown. From this verse Saadiah wanted to deduce that שבת can also signify Festival, as on Sabbath one may not bring any peace-offerings (שלמים), which are here in question (hence ממחרת השבת can also signify "on the morrow of the Festival").

¹ Cf. this passage also in Pinsker, p. מר, who did not recognize who is meant here by this Samuel, and therefore deduced false conclusions.

² In this MS. there is another piece given from this Natan b. Judah, which I have also (l. c., p. 703) published, only I overlooked the fact that this piece [and similarly the passage אמר ידי מאורות הוא דבור למלאכים וכו'] are also quoted in Moses Miṣorudi's משה (written 1602): see Steinschneider, *Cat. Lugd.*, p. 246. Cf. also below, No. 35.

³ Cf. the text, l. c., p. 702, with the necessary explanations there.

⁴ Ben Zuṭa also did this already; see *Monatsschrift*, XLI, 205 seq.

Joseph al-Baṣîr replies that one may not bring any private offering, either whole burnt-offering or peace-offering, on the Festival day also, and that hence כַּאֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה refers most probably to the opening of the gate (see xlvi. 1)¹ or to burnt-offerings; but that שַׁבָּת never signifies a Festival day.

Whether al-Baṣîr controverted Saadiah in his philosophical writings too, I do not know. I should only like to call attention to the fact, that he too was of a gentle nature and inclined to leniency. Thus notably, he successfully combated the well-known *Rikkub* theory in the Karaite marriage laws, which made it almost impossible for the Karaites to marry among themselves.

17. Jeshua b. Jehuda (Arab. Abu-l-Faraj Furqân b. 'Asad, abbreviated ħġ) was a pupil of the preceding writer, and probably lived in Jerusalem². According to al-Hiti (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 433, 434), he was also a pupil of Levi b. Jefet and Abu-l-Faraj Harûn. Jeshua developed a very fruitful literary activity, and wrote works of exegetic, religio-legal, and philosophical character, which we shall deal with in order.

As a Bible exegete Jeshua was very important; hence he is mentioned by Ibn Ezra (Introduct. to Commentary on the Pentateuch) as a representative of Karaite Bible exegesis, together with 'Anân, Benjamin al-Nahawendi, and ben Mashiah. He composed an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch, together with a detailed and a shorter commentary (the second composed later). I pass over the translation (MS. Brit. Mus., Cat., Vol. I, no. 93) which is unimportant for our purpose, and come first of all to the short commentary, the compilation of which, according to Ibn al-Hiti, was begun Rabi' I, 446 of the Hegira (= June, 1054)

¹ Jefet already disputes with Saadiah in his Commentary, ad loc., see p. 25. It is remarkable that Rashi also refers the words of the text to the opening of the gate.

² Cf. on him finally Steinschneider, § 51 (also my *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, pp. 50, 51).

(l. c., 434, l. 7: (sic!) ואבתרי בתפסיר אלתורה יג' ויא' אלדי הו גיר מבצוט זמלה דלך תפסיר ואלה זמלה בידה אלכרימה פי שחר רביע אוול סנה 441 ומן זמלה דלך תפסיר ואלה שמות פי גזוין בכמה מדה תצניף כמה ינקלהם פי סבעה אשהר).

A great part of this commentary is at the British Museum¹, viz. MS. nos. 310-312 (fragments on all five books), 313 (fragments on בשר, יתרו, and משפטים), 314^{1,2} (on Exod. xxiv. 12-17, and Num. xxxv. 9-34), and 330¹⁰ (on part of Num. xxxii). In all these MSS. Saadiah is not mentioned, but he is in others that doubtless belong to this commentary also. They are as follows: MS. no. 315¹ (fragments on אמור, here the detailed commentary, אלתפסיר אלמבסוט, is also cited), 316 (on Num. xix. 4-xxiii. 16), 317¹⁻³ (fragments on Lev.-Deut.; here also the detailed commentary is quoted as אלתפסיר אלמכחופא or אלתצניף אלמבסוט, as distinguished from the shorter one, which he styles אלמכחצר (הוא אלמכחצר), and 329¹ (on Lev. xxiv. 9-23). Saadiah is mentioned several times, firstly in 315¹, whether as סעדיא אלפיומי (on xxii. 5, fol. 6 b), or as ראם אלמחיבה (on xxii. 10, fol. 10 b, in connexion with Sahl b. Maṣṣiah; xxii. 11, fol. 11 b, and xxiii. 12, fol. 24 a), or then in 317², fol. 59 a (on Lev. xiii. 30). Unfortunately, only the first of all these quotations lies before me. Here Saadiah's opinion, that שרץ in Lev. xxii. 5 includes also the carcass of a beast, because it is said of the latter ושרצו בארץ (Gen. viii. 17), is quoted and refuted. The expression ושרצו proves nothing, as it also occurs in connexion with the sons of Noah (ibid. ix. 7), though it is impossible that the latter could be designated as שרץ. Here Saadiah follows the Talmudists, but the latter deduce the prohibition from כל (see *Sifrá*, ad loc.), which is likewise wrong².

¹ Parts of Jeshua's Commentary are also in MS. in St. Petersburg, see *Z. A. T. W.*, I, 158.

² To the short commentary belong perhaps also the compendious explanation of the Decalogue translated by Tobias (Cat. Leyden, 26¹); see Steinschneider, l. c., no. 2. Of the comprehensive commentary the part on Leviticus was perhaps in the hands of Hadassi, who designates it (Alphab. 33, ח) as ויקרא דגורל. In any case, we cannot take it to be Jefet's

Much more interesting than the short commentary is the detailed one, of which a fragment on Lev. xi. 37-44 has likewise been preserved in the British Museum (no. 318², fol. 31-80), and of which I have already edited many passages (see *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 682 seq.; *R. E. J.*, XLV, 54 seq.). Here also occurs (fol. 75 b) the date, the 5 Rajab, 442 of the Hegira (= Nov. 23, 1050), so that G. Margoliouth's view that Jeshua is the author also agrees chronologically, apart from various internal grounds¹ (cf. also Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, VIII, 1, 192, n. 1). In this fragment polemics are several times indulged in against Saadiah, whether under the name of אלפיומי or הוא אלרגל (once, fol. 59 a, also as הוא אלמחעבס, and another time, fol. 59 b, as הוא אלמנסאן), viz. on xi. 37 (fol. 35 b-36 a; unfortunately I do not possess this passage), 38 (fol. 44 a-47 a), 40 (fol. 53 a-60 b), and 43 (fol. 70 a-77 b). In all these passages there is a discussion about the explanation of the verses in question, hence about various questions from the province of the purity laws. Jeshua quotes the views of Saadiah from his commentary on these verses (see fol. 72 b: וקר דכר אלפיומי . . . מא לא יצא מעהא ינסב אלי אלאואיל שיא חכאה פי תפסיר הוא (אלפסוק), whereat he abridged the words of the Gaon (see fol. 44 a: ובעד הוא אלביאן פאדכר לך קול אלפיומי לא בלפטא . . . הוא מכתצר: fol. 46 a: בל אוגר אנראצה פי מא יתעלק בהדין אלפסוקין &c.). הם קאל בעד שי אכתצרתה: fol. 55 b: בלאמה פי הוא אלמוצע). As the abbreviated statement of Saadiah occupies sufficient

commentary on Leviticus, nor can וקרא הגרול אוצר נחמד be regarded as one book (so Bacher, *Monatsschrift*, XL, 122, n. 4), as the אוצר נחמד is a work of Tobias (see below No. 27), and Alphab. 98, 1 is separately mentioned.—ווקרא הגרול would therefore form an analogy to the בראשית רבא soon to be mentioned.

¹ See *J. Q. R.*, XI, 209 seq. Another argument of Margoliouth for the authorship of Jeshua, namely, the citing of a מסורה מסורה, is, however, of no importance. In the first place, the title of a work is hardly to be understood by it, and secondly, that portion of the Leyden MS. 41¹, in which is also cited a מסורה (see Steinschneider, *Cat. Lugd.*, p. 172), belongs not to Jeshua but to Joseph al-Basī or Tobias. See Frankl, *Beitr. z. Literaturgesch. d. Karäer*, p. 7; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 454.

space, it follows that his detailed commentary was used here¹. The refutation of Jeshua is also fairly circumstantial, but without any passion. He twice quotes the explanation of the *Sifrā in extenso*² (fol. 53 a: והאוכל מנבלתה יכבס בנזוג קאל אלאולן יכול תהי נבלת בהמה [מ]טמאה בנדים בבית הבליעה . . . מה האוכל בזה אף הנוגע והנושא בזה וכל השרץ השורץ על: fol. 70 a: הארץ להוציא את שבבליסים . . . הא מה אני מקיים לא יאכלו [לחייב] הארץ, see *ibid.*), translates and explains it, adds the explanation of the Saadiah based on that of the *Sifrā*, and shows that the Gaon does not follow the *Sifrā* correctly. He likewise reproaches Saadiah with the habit of accusing 'Anān of ignorance and the lack of insight (fol. 46 b: וזמן שאנהו אינן יתעקב עאנאן רחא אללה ויסמיה גאהלא וינסבה אלי קלה³ (אלעקל אלך). In connexion with the explanation of verse 43 (fol. 75 b), general canons of Bible exegesis are also discussed, and Saadiah's principles are combated. But here Jeshua already borders on the province of dogmatics.

¹ This MS. may thus also contribute to the knowledge of this lost commentary of Saadiah. I should like to call particular attention to a specially interesting passage on v. 40 (fol. 54). Here Saadiah tries to show that בהמה very often means all beasts, hence birds also. This is the case also in Exod. xx. 10, whence it is forbidden to send forth carrier pigeons on the Sabbath: פמנא שריעה אלסבה אלמקול פיהא אחא ובנך ובתך עברך ואמתך ובהמתך . . . פמנא לא ב"ד מן דכול אלשאיר פיהא ולולך הרמח בעה"ה אלחמאם באלכתאב יום אלסבה. ואנה לא ב"ד מן דכול אלשאיר פיהא ולולך הרמח בעה"ה אלחמאם באלכתאב יום אלסבה.

² In both these places the *Sifrā* is not named, but the opinion contained in it is designated as that of the אלאולן. On the other hand, we read in another passage (fol. 73 a): פהו אלדי קלנא אנה (אי אלפוימי) יכאלף מא זכרה: . . . תורת כהנים אלך.

³ In another passage (fol. 55 a) Jeshua relates how Saadiah drives to an absurdity 'Anān's opinion that a new-born animal causes impurity only after its eighth birthday (cf. *R. É. J.*, XLV, 57 seq.), and asserts that the founder of Karaism probably misunderstood the words of the Talmudists (*Sifrā*, ad loc.; *Sabbath*, 136 a), which he thought to turn into the opposite: הם חכי (אי אלפוימי) מדהב ענן וסמאה לארגיא ואשגב פי אלתנץ בה. ופי אלוד עליה פי קולה מן וד אלבהימה אלצניר לא יננס אלי אן המצי עליה המאניה איאם . . . הם קאל בעד שי אכתצרתה ואחסב אן אלאמר אלדי אגלשה חתי ארעה הוה אנה כמע אלחכמים יקולן להביא בן שמונה פתוה"ם הוה אנהם ארארו אבן המאניה איאם פעכס הוה וקאל להוציא בן שמונה ולם יעלם אנהם אגמא קצרו אלי בן שמונה חדשים אלך.

A part of this long commentary of Jeshua consists perhaps of the work *בראשית רבא*, known only in Hebrew translation, the beginning of which (on the pericope Bereshit and beginning of Noah) has been preserved in a Leyden MS. (no. 41²). In any case, this MS. has more the character of philosophical and theological homilies on the pericopes mentioned than that of a commentary. The philosophic-dogmatic part has been thoroughly analysed by Schreiner (*Studien über Jeschua b. Jehuda*, Berlin, 1900, pp. 25 seq.), and here Saadiah is not mentioned. On the other hand, in those passages in which Jeshua treats of the calendar (especially fols. 86-92) the Gaon is often controverted. Thus, the Karaite proof for the duty of the observation of the moon, from Gen. i. 14, is especially treated at length, and then Saadiah's view, repeatedly quoted here too, that *והי* in this verse refers to "day and night," is refuted on four grounds (fol. 88 a, b). On fol. 89 b, Saadiah's proof for the great age of the calendar system, derived from 1 Chron. xii. 33, is likewise refuted on various grounds (see the text, *supra*, p. 39, n. 1). In a section on the *Molad* (fol. 90 a: [שער א"א = אם אמר]) is quoted Saadiah's assertion that the permanent calendar comes quite near to the *Molad*, but does not quite agree with it (ואילם). (הפיתומי אמר בעבורם כי השבוע קרוב במולד ואיננו באמת על המולד). Further, several proofs for the great age of the calendar are quoted anonymously, and combated (fol. 91 a). But they are all derived from Saadiah, e.g. the proof from 1 Sam. xx. 18 (פוגה אחרת דבר יהונתן מחר חדש יורה על היותם יודעים בו קודם ראיית) cf. *Gan Eden*, fol. 5 c), then the objection why God did not expressly command the observation of the moon (פוגה אחרת אלו צוה אותנו הקב"ה בירח היה חוב לפצוח [= פסח] בו בתורה) cf. *ibid.* 6 a), &c.

Not less important than as a Bible exegete and dogmatic philosopher is Jeshua as a teacher of the law. But the only thing preserved is the Hebrew translation of a work on incest, *ספר הערייות* (MS. in Leyden, Cod. Warner 41¹⁶,

and in St. Petersburg) which, according to Steinschneider, probably forms part of a comprehensive work on all the precepts, bearing the title ספר הישר. It is most likely the same work that Jeshua himself quotes in his short commentary (MS. Brit. Mus. 2544, Cat., no. 310, fol. 165 a; cf. *J. Q. R.*, XI, 197) as (read אלערוות פי אלערוות וואבאת אלמסאל) and which Samuel al-Magribi (see Neubauer, *Aus d. Petersb. Bibl.*, p. 114) quotes as כח' אלמסמי באלמסאל ואלוואבאת. In this ספר העריות there is quoted a rather long passage from Saadiah, perhaps out of his treatise on the same subject (see *supra*, p. 7, n. 3, edited by Steinschneider in מנחם III, 76, and partly in *Cat. Bodl.*, 2163; then by Müller in Saadiah's *Œuvres*, IX, 171), but without any polemics. This passage bears the superscription שער אחר שנויות, and is introduced by the words: וכבר נראה לי אחר זה: לזכור אשר אמר אותו סעדיא ראש הישיבה בפתרון העריות מן ספור הנשים האסורות משום היותו יודע בחפץ הראשונים בדברים ויתר ועדוף להבין ממנו¹. אשר לא יבין אותו זולתו ממי לא נתעסק בו מי קרא דבריהם². If these words emanate from Jeshua himself (and not from the translator) they would show that he also knew how to treat his opponents with esteem. In other places also Jeshua's mode of expression in his polemics, apart from a few exceptions, is free from animosity and personality.

18. Sahl b. Faḍl al-Tustari (or al-Dustari, Heb. Jashar b. Hēsed) is a fertile Karaite author, who has hitherto been little known. He is quoted, so far as we are at present

¹ Cf. on the העריות ס', Steinschneider, *Cat. Lugd.*, pp. 190 seq., and *Die arab. Liter. d. Juden*, pp. 92, 93, as well as Schreiner, l. c., pp. 68 seq. The latter has also edited the introduction to the העריות ס' (after Cod. Leyden) as an appendix to his work. Other excerpts have been published by Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, VIII, 1, 90 seq., and a full edition appeared by Markon. The fragment, MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 2497³, which, according to Margoliouth (*J. Q. R.*, XI, 213 seq.; Cat. I, no. 314³), should form a part of the Arabic original of Jeshua's work, is actually a remnant of Solomon ha-Nasi's אלערוות. See my *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, pp. 51 seq.

² The excerpt from Saadiah forms the conclusion of such a one from another Rabbanite work in Hebrew, which, according to Neubauer (*Israel. Letterbode*, IV, 55 seq.), is taken from the הלכות ראו.

aware, by Melammed Fâdil in his Siddur as **ישר בן חסד אל** חלוק הקראים והרבנים **בן ישר אלחסתרי** as **ישר בן חסד** (see *Monatsschrift*, XLI, 189). His period cannot easily be determined, but, according to Steinschneider (*Arab. Lit. d. Juden*, § 69; also *ibid.*, p. 342), his place of birth (Tustar in Persia)¹, and the contents of his works, soon to be mentioned, appear to show that he belongs to the older Karaites. This is confirmed by the statement of al-Hiti, who follows Jashar with Solomon b. Mubârak b. Şaġir, the author of a lexicon **כ' אלתייסר** (MS. in St. Petersburg, see *Z. A. T. W.*, I, 158), and the latter with 'Ali b. Sulejmân (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 435: **הם אלשיך שלמה בן מברך בן צעיר צאבה או צאחב . . . (אלתייסר הם אלשיך עלי בן שלמה צאחב אלאגרון אלמכתצר**). As the last named probably flourished at the beginning of the twelfth century², Sahl must have written about the middle of the eleventh century, and have been a contemporary of Jeshua. Of his writings there have been preserved fragments of a commentary on the Pentateuch in St. Petersburg (see *Z. A. T. W.*, l. c.), and extracts of two philosophical works—**אלתלויה עלי אלתוחד ואלערל** (Glosses on monotheism and justice) and **אלתחריר לכתאב אריסטו פי מא בער אלטביע** (Critical remodelling of the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle)—in a Brit. Mus. MS. (Or. 2572). According to Ibn al-Hiti (l. c.) Jashar b. H̱esed also composed other works, and wrote polemics against Saadiah: **ואלשיך ישר בן חסד בן ישר אלדסתרי**: **רה אַת כאן מן אלעלמא אלכבאר ולה כתאב אלתלויה פי עלם אלכלאם פי אלפאצֶהם ובראהינהם ורֶד עלי אלפיומי איצא ולה כתאב פי אלאעתדאל**

¹ Our Jashar b. H̱esed is probably also meant by the al-Dustari who is cited in an Arabic compilation on Deuteronomy of the year 1351 (see below, No. 38, and *Semitic Studies in Memory of Dr. Kohut*, p. 436, n. 3).

² According to Steinschneider (l. c., § 180), Ali hardly lived before the middle of the twelfth century. On the other hand, it must be observed that in his commentary on the Pentateuch (of which there are fragments on Numbers and Deuteronomy in MS. Brit. Mus., Cat., no. 309¹), he compiles only from Karaite authors of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Hence he most probably belongs to the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century.

לכתב כחירא מן אלפכה אלמרכל¹. At any rate, it cannot be clearly ascertained from these words whether the controversy with Saadiah was contained in כ' אלהויה or in a separate work. Should the former be the case (and perhaps the extracts in the British Museum could confirm this), then Sahl would have combated Saadiah's philosophical views.

With Jeshua (and possibly Jashar b. H̄esed) there closes the specific Arabic period of the older Karaite literature, and I therefore here append a few anonymous authors who wrote in Arabic, and whose period cannot be determined without difficulty, owing to the fragmentary character of the pieces preserved. But they probably all belong to the first half of the eleventh century, which does not exclude the possibility of many being identical with those already mentioned. These *anonyma* are as follows:

19. The Geniza-fragment, *Saadyana*, ed. Schechter, No. X, forms a remnant of a Karaite polemic treatise against Saadiah (אלפיומי). It deals with the observation of the moon and the calculation of the calendar; and from facts that have been handed down in the Talmud (*Rosh ha-Shanah*, 21 b (התקינו שלא יהיו מחללין אילא על ניסן ועל חשתי בלבד) and in the Tosefta (*ibid.*, II, 1 : רבי . . . ודלך אנהם קאלו פי אלתוספה מעשה ברבי (נהורא וכו'), it is shown that they cannot possibly be regarded as purely theoretical cases, as Saadiah asserts². Similarly, the Gaon's well-known statement is combated that the observation of the moon was introduced only with the advent of Sadok and Boethos, in order to fortify the calculation that generally prevailed hitherto. This statement, he declares, has no basis whatever in the writings of the Rabbis (fol. 1 v^o, l. 6 : פארעא קול לא אצל לה פי סאיר כתב :

¹ These titles are difficult to identify exactly, see Steinschneider, p. 342, and on אלהויה and אלתהראל my *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, pp. 15 and 59 *infra*.

² *Saadyana*, p. 35, fol. 1^{ro}, l. 7 : פהרה ואשבאהה יבשל קול כן יקול אנה מבאנה : . . . לאן מא יקאל פיה מעשה פהר כבר שי כאן פֶּעַל פֶּקַד בשל בדהה אלמעשים קול מן יקול . . . אן הרה אלכבאר מבאנה. As a matter of fact, in the discussion of such cases Saadiah uses the expression מבאנה. See *J. Q. R.*, X, 263, 271.

והוא כבר כדב' לאנה לא יוגד היא אלכבר פי : fol. 2 r^o, l. 9 ; ארבראנין (סאיר כתב ארבראנין וארא כאן אלאמר עלי היא בטל אן יכון לה אצל).

20. A Geniza-fragment in Cambridge, belonging to the Taylor-Schechter Collection (Ar. T-S. 30), six leaves¹, 18 × 13 cm., contains a remnant of an old Karaite Law-book. The book was apparently divided up into sections (מקאלות), and each section into chapters (פצול). The superscription of such a chapter has been preserved (fol. 2 r^o : אפצל אלכאמס עשר פי קולה תעאלי ואת אלה תשקצו (מן העוף), and then the following sections are incidentally quoted: on the Sabbath (מקאלה אלסבת ; fol. 3 v^o, 5 v^o), on the ripening of spring (מקאלה אלאביב, fol. 3 v^o), and on [the enjoyment of] hens (מקאלה ארנאנ ; fol. 5 v^o)². In addition, the author cites his work כתאב אלשכוך (fol. 4 r^o), which is otherwise also unknown. In another passage (fol. 6 r^o), 'Anân's views (known from another source too) about the characteristics of permitted fowls, which differ entirely from those given in the Talmud (*Hullin*, 61 a), is cited. Our author states that Saadiah combated this view of 'Anân, and remarks that the refutation of the Fayyumite is directed against him personally, i. e. against the Rabbanite characteristics : ולאן האלתהם (אי האלה ארבראנין) חזרי מגרי האלה ענ פי קו' אן אלטאהר הו מא יזק וימ' . . . וקד רד' עליה אפיומי במא לא מעני לה והו קולה אן פי אלזק ואלמ' ירנע אלי אלפעל ואנה לא יגוז אן יכון עלאמה אלמטלק אלא מא ירנע אלי גסדה אלך I reserve a full consideration of the subject-matter treated of here till I have an opportunity of publishing the whole fragment, but cf. Harkavy, l. c., 154.

21. Another fragment of the same collection (so far without any press-mark), two small leaves, paper, deals with questions of calendar-science, holding that if the

¹ There is a gap between leaves 3 and 4.

² 'Anân is known to have forbidden their enjoyment, maintaining that the hen is identical with the biblical דוכסה (see Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, VIII, 1, 145, n. 5). In our fragment (fol. 3 v^o) this view of 'Anân is also quoted and likewise that of the sectarian Mālik al-Ramlī (see *ibid.*).

new moon is invisible through some cause or other, the 31st day must be adopted as the day of new moon¹. The unknown Karaite author adduces as examples the cities of Tiberias and Ramla²: he must therefore have been a Palestinian. He furthermore cites the following argument of the Karaites for the above view: Just as even a death-sentence follows upon the declaration of witnesses, although the certainty is never present that these witnesses have not lied, so the 31st day can hold good as the day of New Moon, even though it is quite possible this actually occurred already on the 30th. He then says that Saadiah tried to refute this analogy (ועם אלפיומי אנה גיר קיאם צחיה פקאל וגרת) and shows that this analogy holds true nevertheless (ועם אלפיומי אן בינהמא פרק ברעוי אדעאה לא) (אצל לה ונחן נורי אלתופיק בינהמא אלך).

22. MS. Bodl. Heb. e 32, fols. 9-18 (Cat., Vol. II, no. 2631²), contains a fragment of an Arabic commentary on Gen. iv and vi, mostly in the form of questions and answers. Its Karaite character is evident from the following passage (fol. 13): וראינא ראם אלמתיבה קר אלום אלנדה ו נקיים³. It is well known that the duration and the degree of the impurity of a woman with child forms a subject of dispute between Rabbanites and Karaites, inasmuch as the latter also forbid any sexual intercourse during the thirty-three days after the birth of a boy and the sixty-six days after the birth of a girl (see

¹ This question is also discussed elsewhere in Karaite literature, most fully by Jefet in his *Comm. on Gen.*, VIII, 3; see *J. Q. R.*, X, 241.

² The interesting passage reads as follows, *in extenso*: ונכמא אנה קר יתפק גים פי מדינה שבירה ענר גיבובה אלשמס ויכון צחו פי מדינה אלמלה פי זלך אלקת בעינה פיתנן אהל אלמלה אליום ויתנן אהל שבירה פי גר ואלכל תחת נץ אלכתאב (Lev. xii. 3) ובים השמיני ימול כדאך נקול איצא אנה אן ר'א אלהאל באלמלה ולא יורא בשבירה יב עלי אהל אלמלה אן יתקרון זלך אליום ואהל שבירה יתקרון אליום אלהאני ואלכל תחת נץ (Num. xxviii. 11) ובראשי חדשיכם פלים בינהם פרק פי הווא אלבאב והוא ואצח. On Ramla see *R. É. J.*, XLVIII, 156, n. 2.

³ Cf. my *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, p. 31.

the various Karaite views in Aaron b. Elias, *Gan Eden*, fol. 114 b seq.; cf. also *supra*, p. 25).

23. Another MS. of the same library (MS. Bodl. Heb. d 44, fols. 60-3; Cat., Vol. II, no. 2624¹) contains the fragment of a commentary on passages from Lev. i. 15-xii. 3. This commentary belongs in any case to the older period of Karaite literature, as the Karaite author Abu Sulejmân [David] al-Qumisi is quoted here, who is otherwise almost quite unknown, and is only mentioned by Jefet besides (see *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 681, n. 1; cf. also *R. É. J.*, XLV, 178, 179, and *Jew. Encycl.*, IV, 465)¹. On iii. 9 (fol. 60 b) Saadiah's interpretation of the words חֲלָבוֹ הָאֵלִיָּה is cited and thoroughly refuted: ואלפיומי קאל קולה חֲלָבוֹ הָאֵלִיָּה מעניה חֲלָבוֹ הָאֵלִיָּה ואלאליה הו גיר אלחלב ולם אלאמר במא זעם וקאל אן לנא אדם שת אנוש והמא אניאר בלא וו עלי ראם אלכלמא כבדלך קולה חֲלָבוֹ הָאֵלִיָּה מענאה חֲלָבוֹ הָאֵלִיָּה אלך. The enjoyment of the fat tail is known to be forbidden by Karaite law, and Saadiah's explanation, taken from his commentary on the passage², is mentioned by many other Karaites, e. g. by Tobias b. Moses (אוצר נחמד, MS. Bodl. 290, fol. 91 a), Hadassi (Alphab. 233, ק; Saadiah's name is not mentioned here), Jacob Tamâni (Pinsker, p. 87), Aaron b. Joseph (*Mibhar*, fol. 5 b; here also Saadiah's name is not mentioned; cf. further, *infra*, Nos. 36 and 48), Aaron b. Elias (*Gan Eden*, fol. 96 c; cf. also his *Keter Torah*, on Leviticus, fol. 8 a), and Elias Bashiatchi (*Adderet*, ענין שחיטה c. 18: here the presentation of reasons and counter-reasons is especially the most complete).

24. MS. Brit. Mus. 2580² (Cat. II, no. 587²) contains a fragment of an old Karaite Book of Precepts (written throughout in Arabic characters). In one passage (fol. 13 a) is quoted an objection of Saadiah against 'Anân and Benjamin al-Nahawendi with regard to the prescriptions

¹ I have published and translated another passage from this commentary on X, 19 (fol. 62 a) in *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 695, 696.

² This follows explicitly from Tobias' words to be mentioned further on. In the section in question of the polemical work against Ibn Sâqaweihi (*J. Q. R.*, XVI, 110, 111), this explanation is not to be found.

about menstruating women, which reads as follows¹:
 ואעלם אן אףיוםי טען על אאנן ונניאמין וקאל אנהא גזף (גזףא 1.) אהד
 אשרטין ואנהא זכרא אן אל נדה אזה אצל דמהא חמלא (חמלא 1.) זבה אאליהא (? אאליהא 1.)
 אקטשא קולה בלא עת נדתה (Lev. xv. 25) ושנע עליהא בזלכ תמ עול
 על אביאן אאראד בקולה בלא עת נדתה אל. The question here dis-
 cussed is that, according to the Talmudists, ימים רבים in this
 verse mean "three days," and they refer this verse to the
 נדה לנדה (see *Sifrâ*, ad loc., and *Nidda*, 72). But
 'Anân explains the verse thus: if a woman, whether within
 or without the period of menstruation, has a flow of blood
 more than seven days she must then (in contradistinction
 to a menstruating woman) count another seven days after
 her purification, see his words in the original by Harkavy,
Stud. u. Mitt., VIII, 1, 42: . . . אבל אי חאזיא טפי משבעת ימים
 מחיבי למספר שבעה בתר דרכיא דכתיב ואשה כי יזוב זוב דמה ימים רבים
 בלא עת נדתה או כי תזוב על נדתה כל ימ זוב טומאתה כי מי (כימי 1.)
 נדתה תהיה טמאה [הוא] קא אמא ימים רבים בלא עת נדתה משום נדה
 קביע לה שבעה ימי טהרה קא אמא גבי בלא עת נדתה ימים רבים לאודערך
 דבלא עת נדתה נמי כי חאזיא טפי משבעת ימים הוא דצריכה ספירת שבעה
 (cf. also *Mibhar* and *Keter Tora*, ad loc.). That Saadiah
 (probably in the Commentary) combats this view of 'Anân,
 we also see from the commentary [of David b. Boaz?] on
 the passage in question (MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 2495, Cat.,
 no. 306, fol. 181 seq.): . . . וקאל ימים רבים קאלו אלרבאנין ימים . . .
 רבים שלשה . . . וקאל אלפיומי אן הוה אלקול מן אלנבי על אלס לקנהם
 איאה והו אן ימים רבים ז ועת נדתה פהו בעד אלטהר יא כמא קאלו
 אחר עשר יום שבין נדה לנדה . . . ואעלם אנה חכא ען ענן אן אלנדה
 אזה נטרת דם אכחך מן ז והי זבה וק אנה לס יאת בשי אלך.

25. MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 2573 and 2574 (Cat. II, nos. 589,
 590) contains a work on the differences and agreements in
 the exposition of the laws between Abu 'Ali and Abu-l-

¹ I owe the communication of this passage to the kindness of the
 Rev. G. Margoliouth. The Hebrew words are here transcribed in square
 letters.

Surri, i.e. between Jefet b. 'Ali and Sahl b. Maṣṣiah: כתאב פיה עיין מא בין אלשיזין אבי עלי ואבי אלסרי רצי אללה ענהמא מן אלכלף פי אלמצות ומא אתפקא עליה. Here also, according to Margoliouth (*Cut.*, II, p. 180 a), Saadia is rather often cited; but I have not a single passage before me¹.

26. **Israel b. Daniel**², according to Firkowitsch, composed in 1062, at the age of twenty-six, a Book of Precepts, ספר המצות (Arab. or Heb.?), which was preserved in the Karaite synagogue in Damascus. He is mentioned without any further epithet by Jefet b. Ṣagīr; on the other hand, in an alleged book-list of the synagogue named (see Pinsker, p. 174; cf. also p. 94, n. 1), he is designated as ר' ישראל הדיין האסכנדרני בכ"ר דניאל רי"ת, and is said to have

¹ It should, however, be observed that a leaf of this work, which is added to the Catalogue as a facsimile (Plate V), contains a passage that seems to have been directed against Saadia. Here the argument derived from 1 Chron. xii. 33 for the antiquity of the calculation of the calendar is combated; the same argument is cited and refuted by many Karaite authors (see above, p. 23, n. 1), but in the present instance the Gaon is not expressly named but referred to as belonging to the "men of calculation" (אסחאב אלחסאב). I give the passage here, as far as it is contained in the facsimile page of the MS. (fol. 7 a), while adding the diacritical points and other signs:—

وقد احتج بعض اصحاب الحساب بقوله ومبني يشعبر يودעי بيנה לעתים
وتمامه قالوا لما اخبر عنهم انهم علماء بالاوقات وبالنظر فيما يعملونه ישראל وان
اخوتهم تتبعونهم لم نجد ذلك الا في الاعياد ولما كان الهلال ليس يحتاج الى
تمييز وانما يحتاج الى حدة بصرو لم يذكر في هذا الموضع ما يقتضى غير
العلم وجب انه قصد حساب الاعياد، واعلم انه اذا استمر ان يكون لهذا القول
وجه اخر بطل الاستدلال به وقد ندري ان القدماء كانوا يعملون على الهلال
على ما هو مفصوح به في المصنعة وان الحساب محدث.... من اصحاب الالحامود
واذا كان كذلك فيجب ان يكون هذا القول انما قصد به الى ضرب اخر من
العلوم وهو في تدبير العساكر وحوائج الامة مثل ويامر המלך לחכמים
יודעי

² See on him Steinschneider, *Die arab. Liter. d. Juden*, § 70 (also *ibid.*, p. 342).

lived in Hebron. Moses Bashiatchi calls him 'ר' ישראל בן הח' (read ר' חסד, רבי' דניאל הקמסי מחכמי הסתרה) and quotes his Book of Precepts under the title מצות ה' ברה (Steinschneider, *Cat. Lugd.*, p. 14). He thus regards him as a son of Daniel al-Qumisi (who wrote in the ninth century), and assigns his domicile to Tustar (where Jashar b. H̥esed also had his home). But all these statements, especially that of his home, are very doubtful, and those of Firkowitsch seem to have been specially concocted¹. If Israel b. Daniel flourished in the second half of the eleventh century, then he might be identical with an Israel b. Daniel al-Ramli, who is mentioned in an anti-Karaite work (composed or copied 1112) as a contemporary (see the passage in question, *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 700: אלי אסראל בן דניאל הדא אלרמלי). At the top of the Firkowitsch MS. (now in St. Petersburg) of David b. Abraham al-Fāsi's Lexicon there are a few poems with the superscription למר' רוב' ישראל הדיין זצ"ל, which may have been composed by Israel b. Daniel (cf. Pinsker, pp. 174 seq.; Firkowitsch, בני רשף, p. 3, and Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, III, notes 94 and 122). The first of these poems is directed against Saadiah, "the erring Fayyumite" (השגה הפיתומי), and Samuel b. Hofni (שמואל ילד הפני), who thought to uproot the creed of the Karaites. From the clumsy form of the poems we might assume an earlier writer; but it is also possible that they originate from Israel ha-Maarabi, who is also called הדיין (see further *infra*, No. 37).

27. Tobias b. Moses, called העובר, הבקי, and also המעתיק, "the translator," as his chief importance consists in his

¹ The communication from the catalogue of books in Damascus seems to have undergone various changes, for the statements that Israel b. Daniel was twenty-six years old at the time the list was made, and that he sojourned in Hebron, occur only in the בני רשף, p. 4, but not in Pinsker [here also there have been added the dates 202 of the Hegira and 745 (of the Creation?), which, however, do not agree with the year 1373, Era of Contracts]. In Ibn al-Hiti (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 432, l. 4 from bottom) it seems that we must really read דניאל instead of ר' דניאל בן ישראל, see *ibid.*, p. 438, n. 1.

numerous translations from the Arabic of works by co-religionists¹. He is said to have been a pupil of Jeshua b. Jehuda, and lived in the second half of the eleventh century in Constantinople, where the first traces of Karaite literature show themselves in his time. Besides the translations, which he partly curtailed and revised, Tobias also compiled complete works from earlier authors. For example, there is a sort of commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled *אוצר נחמד*², which is compiled chiefly from David b. Boaz (הנשיא) and Jefet b. Ali (המלמד), and to which Tobias made some additions, especially in the form of questions. All that has been preserved, in a Bodleian MS. (Cat. Neub. 290), is the part on Leviticus i-x, from which I have communicated several small and long passages (see *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 697; *R. É. J.*, XXXIV, 167, 181; XLIV, 186).

In the *אוצר נחמד* Saadiah is controverted pretty often, and the name of the Gaon, who is mostly called הפיתומי, is accompanied with nasty expressions (cf. Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.*, 2168), e. g. הבער (MS. fol. 14 b), הור (90 b, 101 b), הלץ (101 b), התועה (90 a), הנער המצרי (91 b), הנער האיש (93 b), &c. The questions on which Tobias disputes with Saadiah in the portion preserved are naturally such as are connected with explanations and prescriptions of the Third Book³, but in one place (fol. 96 a) there is a controversy especially about the Oral Law, where Saadiah's commentary on Exod. xxiv. 12 is cited: והירושה אשר תוכור אותה היא אצלך המשנה והתלמוד: . . . וזולתם מן ספרי הרבנים והדומ' להם כאשר זכר[ת]ו בפתר' פסוק עלה אלי' . . . והירה והיה שם וכו' (cf. *J. Q. R.*, X, 257, n. 3). The whole of the passage is of a personal character throughout, and we read

¹ See on him lastly Steinschneider, *Die hebr. Übersetz.*, pp. 454 seq., 940 seq., and *Jew. Encycl.*, s. v. (XII, 166).

² That this work extended to the entire Pentateuch I gather from the words of Tobias: *אני מביא . . . כהנתי זה הספר שהוא א' מספרי אוצר הנחמד והוא: סדר כהנים וכו'.*

³ The polemical passages also Tobias doubtless took for the most part from his sources, but unfortunately the sources bearing on this particular part of Leviticus are not accessible to me.

here : "If thou (Saadiah) and thy followers maintain that Mishna and Talmud were dictated word by word by God to Moses, then do I say that thou liest and deniest what is manifest (נבל וכפרת ושכחת לדברים) as these works contain the dicta of individuals and events from the time of the second temple and still later."

In the province of ritual law, Tobias discusses very often and very thoroughly two questions especially. In the first place, that on the operation of מליקה (ff. 6 a-7 b and 37 a-39 b)¹; according to Saadiah this took place before the slaying of the sacrificial bird, and its process does not rest upon scriptural demonstrations, but upon continuous statements of eye-witnesses (fol. 7 a: כי . . . ואמ' סעדיה הפיתומי כי המליקה מעשה יעשהו הכהן בעוף קודם השחיטה . . . ואמ' סעדיה הפיתומי כי אש' אמרו זה הדבר אין להם ראיה על זה הדבר בדבר מן הכת' אבל הם ; מדרך ההעתקה מן המספרים ומגידים מה שראו בעיניהם מן המעשה וכו' . . . similarly fol. 37 b). Tobias then proves from Sifrâ on i. 15 (fol. 37 b: כי הרבנים אמ' בתו' כהנים בפתרון והקריבו הכהן אל המזבח : ב' 37) and from Tosefta, *Zebahim*, cap. VI (ibid. : בפרק הששי : כי כן אמ' . . . מן מסכתא הראשונה בתוספת קרשים והיה מולק בצפורן ממול ערפה, see ed. Zuckerman, p. 489, where our passage is VII, 4), that the Talmudists seek a support in the Scriptures for their opinion, and that Saadiah deviates from them and contradicts them. In any case, the argument of the Talmudists is also not valid. Tobias also cites on this occasion Saadiah's commentary on Leviticus (fol. 38 a: ואמ' זה פיתומי : בחלק הג' מן חלקי הקרבנות אשר זכר בפתרון שלו בספר ויקרא).

The second question is that on the enjoyment of the fat tail (אליה), which forms a constant theme in Karaite polemics. Tobias also devotes much space to it (ff. 90 a-94 a, 95 b, and 99 a-99 b). Saadiah's reasons and the counter-reasons of the Karaites are the same here as in the

¹ For the various Karaite opinions on this subject, see the passages quoted in *R. É. J.*, XLV, 196, 197.

other sources hitherto known elsewhere (see above, No. 23), but expressed much more passionately and often more thoroughly. It is interesting to establish that all Saadiah's reasons and objections are taken from his commentary on Leviticus, and that here also is mentioned the explanation of חלבו האליה mentioned above (fol. 90 a: מקצת יע' מקצת: הרבנים [= בעין אלרבאנין] בפתרונו לס' ויקרא נבאר בזה המקום אש' בדא מלבו מקצ' הקושרים בדורנו זה והם כי אמ' כי האליה אסור אכילתם [אכילתה 1]. . . . אמ' הפיתומי ואני אגלה שבושם ושגיונם בזה הפרק. . . . ואם יאמרו כי התורה אמרה חלבו האליה תמימה יש לנו יכולת למנעם ממנו מב' פנים הראש' שנ' להם יתכן להיות שאמ' חלבו האליה חלבו והאליה תמימה בתוספת אות וי"ו. . . . לאש' מצאנו העמרניים?] יע' כתבי הקדש כי יחברו בלא ו"ו כמו שכת' אדם שת אנוש ומענהו. . . . ודעו כי זה האיש [=הדא אלרגל] then fol. 95 b: א' בחלק הי"ו [מ]חלקי הקרבנות אשר זכר אותם בפתרון הפרק הראשון Tobias also quotes from Saadiah the well-known opinion of Meswi al-Okbari, that only the fat of offerings was forbidden, and he spurns in indignant and abusive terms the insinuation of the "frivolous Fayyumite" (זה הפיתומי הלין), as if the Karaites also follow the opinion of Meswi (ff. 101 b-102 a)¹.

Finally, Tobias controverts the following explanations of Saadiah of single passages in Leviticus: (1) on ii. 1 (fol. 8 b), on the amount of oil to be used with a meat-offering; (2) on ii. 14 (fol. 14 b). The offering of firstfruits mentioned here is not the obligatory offering of barley-sheaves, but a private and free-will offering that everybody can bring from the firstfruits of his field products. Tobias cites here Saadiah's interpretation, and the refutation in the name of Jefet: ואמ' יפת המלמד ז"ל ואם תקריב מנחת בכורים לי"י

¹ Cf. detailed treatment in *R. É. J.*, XXXIV, 164. Saadiah does not give the name of Meswi here, but says: . . . ושמצנו כי אנשים היו בתוך האומה מתירים: החלבים בדורנו ואמ' כי י"י יחש אמ' כי כל אכל חלב מן הבהמה אש' יקריב ממנה ואלה הבהמות נקרב מהם דבר אמרו וכן היה הדרך בזמן שהמקדש קיים כי הראש אש' היה יקריב ל"י חלבו אסור ואש' איננו נקרב חלבו מותר וכו'.

זכר מנחת בכורים מופרדה מן המנחות המוקדמי' לב' דברים הא' כי היא מן זרע החדש ואם [ואלה 1.] יהיו מן הישן ומן החדש והב' כי היא מובא מן אלבפור לבד . . . ובוה המע' טעות גדול מי שאמ' כי זאת המנחה תעשה מעומר התנופה . . . כי לא תצא זאת המנחה מנ' פנים . . . אמ' המלמד ז"ל לו היה יודע הפיתומי הבער כי הבכורים לא יהיו לכל א' וא' וכי יבכר זרע של זה [היום] ומחר לאחר . . . לא היה מחלק זה החלק וכו'.

Both Karaites overlooked the fact that Saadiah here follows the explanation of the Talmudists (see *Sifrâ*, ad loc.).

(3) On iv. 13 (ff. 22 b, 29 a, and 29 b; in the MS. the leaves are here wrongly bound), respecting the question, who is to be understood here by the "congregation of Israel," Tobias indulges in exclamations against the shepherds, i. e. against the leaders of the Rabbanites, who allow what is forbidden and forbid what is allowed. (4) On vii. 12 (fol. 117 b), against the assertion that both the shewbread and the loaves brought with a thank-offering and a Nazarite offering and the Omer—all belong to meat-offerings. The source is here also Saadiah's commentary on Leviticus: ודע כי מקצ' הרבנים הזכיר בפת' ספר ויקרא שלו והוא סעיד הפיתומי כי לחם הפנים והלחם אשר יוקרב עם התורה ואשר יוקרב עם שלמי נזיר והעומר הוא מן המנחות וכו'.

28. A Karaite compilation on Exodus and Leviticus in Hebrew exists in a Leyden MS. (Cod. Warn. 3), and is identical with the St. Petersburg MS. (No. 588), described by Pinsker (pp. 71 seq.) and Harkavy (*Stuhl. u. Mitt.*, VIII, 1, 136). It doubtless originated in Byzantium, because it contains Greek words (see e. g. Pinsker, p. 73, l. 2 from bottom); as date of compilation is given 1020 since the destruction of the second temple and 480 of the Hegira, i. e. 1088¹. The latest Karaite author mentioned by name is Abu Jaqûb, probably Joseph al-Basir, but the compiler used

¹ So rightly in Pinsker, p. 75: . . . ומולכים עד עתה אלף: יאחזיקם קמו אדומים . . . וכן החבורה מלכות ישמעאל מלכה עד עתה ה"ס שנה (see also p. 76, l. 3). In the Leyden MS. (cf. Cat. Steinschneider, p. 7) erroneously 1000 and 380, which together does not at all agree (1000 from the Destruction = 1068, and 380 of the Hegira = 990). Cf. also Geiger, *אוצר נחמד*, IV, 26.

Jeshua and Tobias also ¹. It is also not impossible that the above date (and the Greek words too) was simply taken from some older source, and thus our compilation is possibly of later origin. Saadiah is cited here a few times and controverted, and among other well-known questions (e.g. on לֶבֶת אֵשׁ in Exod. iii. 2, see above, p. 26; on the rejection of the הִיקֵּשׁ ², see above, p. 22) are mentioned also such explanations of Saadiah as are not known from other sources, e. g. that on Exod. xix. 2 (see Pinsker, p. 72, l. 4), then that a sin-offering must be brought for all involuntary transgressions for which extermination is threatened (ibid., p. 73, l. 10 : כִּי אָמַר פִּיּוּמִי דָבָר שְׁחִיב בּוֹדֵנוּ (כִּרְתַּת יִהְיֶה בְּשִׁנְגָתוֹ חֲטָאת וְלֹא כֵן הוּא וְכוּ'). A Karaite opinion is falsely given as that of Saadiah, namely, that it is forbidden to enjoy meat in the Diaspora (Pinsker, p. 74, l. 19; Harkavy, p. 138, l. 16 : לִבְנֵי פִיּוּמִי אָמַר חַיִּיב עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל לִהְנוֹר ; מֵאֲכִילַת בֶּשֶׂר בִּקְרָ וְצֹאן עַד עַתָּה הִקְבִּיז שִׁישׁוּבוֹ הַכֹּהֲנִים עַל עֲבוּדָתָם וְכוּ' ; cf. my remarks in *Monatsschrift*, XXXIX, 443, and הגרן, II, 96, 97).

TWELFTH CENTURY.

29. Jacob b. Reuben is the author of a Hebrew compilation on the Bible, entitled סֵפֶר הָעֵשֶׂר, which exists in manuscript in several libraries (Leyden, Paris, St. Petersburg), and a part of which (from Jeremiah to the end, excluding Psalms) is also in print (Eupatoria, 1836). He lived in Byzantium, and as he already uses 'Ali b. Sulejmân

¹ For parallels to Jeshua see Pinsker, pp. 76 seq. (who, however, wrongly concluded that Jeshua was the author; cf. also Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apolog. Liter.*, p. 347). From Tobias, e.g., is taken the passage on מִלִּיקָה (p. 73), where the compiler has combined conclusions found in two widely-separated passages in Tobias (אֲוִצֵּר נֶחֱמֵר, ff. 7 a and 37 a).

² In Pinsker, p. 75, l. 6 : וְהָיָה דְּבַר וּמִצְוַת יְיָ דְּבָרִים : מִבְּנֵי אֲרָם בְּחֹרֶה וְכוּ' ; but in the Leyden MS., f. 343 (Steinschneider, p. 8) : וְאָמַר פִּיּוּמִי כִּי אֲנִי מִקֵּשׁ בְּכָל דְּבַר וְכוּ'.

(see Harkavy in *Jew. Encycl.*, VII, 442 b *supra*), he probably belongs to the first half of the twelfth century¹. Jacob's chief source was the commentary of Jefet b. 'Ali, whom he reproduces mostly in a very abbreviated form, and the passages having reference to Saadiah must have been taken for the most part from this commentary. All these passages (with the exception of a single one) occur only in the portion on the Pentateuch, and have been communicated by Pinsker (pp. 83 seq.) and Steinschneider (*Cat. Lugd.*, p. 25). They are (1) Gen. i. 1: ופֶתַר פִּיתוּמֵי בְרֵאשִׁית : בִּי"ת טַפֵּל וְלֹא בֵן הוּא וי"א שֶׁהֵבִית נֹשֶׂא ; cf. also Ibn Ezra, ad loc.: ומוסיפין אותו [נוסף?], and Parhōn's *Mahberet*, fol. 2 c: [ר"ל את הבי"ת] בלי צורך כמו בראשית ברא כלומר החלה ברא אלהים ; (2) Exod. iii. 2 on לבת אש (from Jefet, see above, p. 26) ; (3) *ibid.*, xxi. 1: לפניהם means before the Sanhedrin ; (4) *ibid.*, xxiii. 19, on Lev. xxvii. 32, from which Saadiah proved that the enjoyment of a שליל is permitted : ופיומי אמר אם הקרה להיות מעֲבֶרֶת מִה מִשְׁפָּטוֹ אִם יִקְחֵנוּ הִכְהֵן הֲלֹא הֵם שְׁנֵים (cf. above, p. 45) ; (5) Lev. xi (וגם) בן אומרים [probably the Samaritans] פיומי אמר בן (but it is not clear what the question is here) ; (6) *ibid.*, xi. 29 on צב ; (7) *ibid.*, on grasshoppers, which may be eaten without ritual slaughter (cf. *Z.f. H. B.*, IV, 73, and the passage cited there) ; (8) *ibid.*, xx. 13, on the various degrees of punishment for committing the crime mentioned in this verse ; (9) *ibid.*, xxii. 8, on Ezek. xlv. 31 ; (10) *ibid.*, xxiii. 15 on מִמַּחֲרַת הַשָּׁבֶת (extract from Jefet, cf. above, p. 24). In addition there are two passages, which neither Pinsker nor Steinschneider quotes,

¹ On the conjectured period of the life of 'Ali b. Sulejmān, see *supra*, p. 54, n. 2. That he is used by Jacob b. Reuben was unknown to me when I wrote an article on the latter in the *Jew. Encycl.*, s.v. (VII, 41). To the literature there given must be added : Geiger, *Urspr. Nidch.*, IV, 25 ; Harkavy, *Altjüd. Denkmäler aus d. Krim*, p. 62 ; Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apolog. Liter.*, p. 347 ; Adolf Posnanski, *Schiloh*, I, 273. Cf. also the passages on 'Anān, communicated by Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, VIII, 1, 152-155.

passages deal with the argument from Josh. v. 11 for the correctness of the Karaite interpretation of מחרת השבת (Alphab. 224 ג), and with Saadiah's argument from Lev. xxvii. 32, that the enjoyment of an embryo is permitted (Alphab. 240 מ: נאמו: . . . והפיתומי אמר באמור הכתוב העשירי יהיה קדש: מ: נאמו: לה' אם תקרה מעובר היה לוקח כאחד ומוה מותר לנו המעובר כי הוא כאחד בחשבונותיו: ובטל פתרוני' שאסרתם אותו לעם אלהיך: "נאמו לו משכילי נ"ע אי גונב הלבבות מאין לך כי נהיו [מ]עשרים מעוברות . . . והרבו¹ (עליו משכילי נ"ע חשבות אך מקצת הרמותי לך ולכל חרדי אלהיך

But besides these few passages, Hadassi now and again controverts the views of Saadiah without naming him, e.g. the assertion that אביב can signify the name of the month (Alphab. 190 ס: ומי שאמר שמור את חדש האביב: ס: . . . הוא שם לחדשך . . . עות המשפט והדרך כי לקחו ודמיו ממה שאמר תל אביב הוא שם מקום וכו' ; see above, p. 44), or the explanation of חלבו והאליה as חלבו האליה (Alphab. 233 ק; cf. *supra*, No. 23), and so forth. It must be against Saadiah also that those passages are directed in which Hadassi shows that in the Talmudical period the rule לא בר"ו פסח had not any validity yet (Alphab. 185 ש seq.), or that 1 Sam. xx. 18 is no argument for the great age of the calendar-system (Alphab. 197 ש seq.),

ואלהאליה עלם מא רפעת אלצורה אליה (= מדע הכרחי) . . . ואמא נון נמאע' אלמחורין . . . ונפין אליהא מאד' ראב' . . . ודי צ'ה אלזבר אלצאדק (= מדע המשמע) אלך . . . But it seems that Hadassi, in the fourth source, chose משמע not without intention (instead of, e.g., the הדגרה הנאמנת in Ibn Tibbon), because this word among the Karaites signifies the Scriptures. Hadassi further adds: ועוד אמר (ר"ל סעריה) כי החור' מתקיימות בשכל ובשמע ובקבלה ואמנ' דבריו השכל והקבלה שכל = מצות שכליות (אלשוראיע) אשר אינ' הורכות מה שכתו' בס' תורת אלהיך שכל = מצות שמעיות (אלשוראיע אלסמיע'ה) (אלעקיה' = קבלה = זכר צדיח) ; see *Amanát*, § iii. Cf. also Kaufmann, *Geschichte d. Attributenlehre*, pp. 1 seq. ; Guttman, *Die Religionsphilosophie d. Saadia*, pp. 22 seq., 134 seq.

¹ This argument, as already remarked, is also advanced by Qirqisāni, Levi b. Jefet and Jacob b. Reuben (see *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, p. 178, n. 2, and also above, pp. 45 and 67), but Saadiah's name is mentioned only by the last of these. As Jacob b. Reuben draws especially from Jefet, it may be presumed that the latter also handed down the name of the Gaon and has used to Hadassi as a source. But unfortunately I have not before me Jefet's commentary on this passage of Leviticus.

or that one cannot conclude from Dan. x. 3 that the eating of meat was permitted in the Diaspora (see above, p. 66), &c.

Besides the *Eshkol*, another fragment of Hadassi has been preserved, which Pinsker (pp. 94 seq.) has edited. The latter holds Tobias to be the author, but this time Firko-witsch, who ascribes it to Hadassi, has exceptionally hit upon the truth, as we find at the end quite explicitly (p. 97, l. 5): ¹וואני יהודה בן אליה קטן התלמידים. This fragment is not a remnant of a Book of Precepts, but *colle-tanea* which Hadassi probably compiled as material for his *Eshkol*. Saadiah is mentioned a few times here also, and the matter at issue is that eternal question about the age of the calendar-system. According to Saadiah it is no argument against the great age of this system that there is nothing about it in the Bible, for reason does not forbid us to assume that God revealed, e.g. 100 precepts to his prophet, and commanded him to write down only fifty of them, but to hand down the other fifty only orally, or not to fix any of them at all in writing. The precepts were indeed already known to the patriarchs, although they were not written down; similarly Mishna and Talmud already existed before, and were only later made into a record by the sages ². Further, Saadiah maintains that the calendar with all its rules originates from Moses, and only when Šadok and Boethos, the two heretical disciples of Antigonus, also opposed the system, was the observation of the moon also made known [in order to show that both

¹ Cf. also Frankl, *Monatsschrift*, XXXI, 77 seq. and השחר, VII, 50; Buber's introduction to the לקח טוב of Tobia b. Eliezer, p. 47.

² Saadiah had this argument in his commentary on the Pentateuch (p. 94, l. 23: דע כי פירומי השיב על בעלי המקרא בפתרון שלו בענין החדש בעבור החשבון: (שיכתוב נ' ודעבור וכו' l. 25, for שיכתוב נ' read שיכתוב כ'). By the assertion that the patriarchs already knew the commandments, Saadiah means such sayings as קיים אברהם אבינו כל החורא כלה and the like. In Karaite literature also it is discussed whether the Biblical precepts were binding before the Sinaitic legislation. I intend dealing fully with this problem, described as קדם אלפראיץ, in another connexion.

coincide]¹. The generally prevalent rules were again used as a guide, until 'Anân and Benjamin al-Nahawendi arose and again abolished the system that is of Sinaitic origin. Hadassi further reports in Saadiah's name about the wonders displayed by R. Eliezer in his dispute with R. Joshua (see *Baba Mešia*, 59 a), about the sacrifice brought with the Omer, the amount of meal to be used with the Omer, and finally about the argument from Josh. v. 11 for the Karaite interpretation of מִמַּחֲרַת הַשָּׁבֹט and its refutation. This refutation agrees verbally with that by Jefet on Lev. xxiii. 15 in the *Kitab al-tamjiz* (Hirschfeld, *Arabic Chrestomathy*, p. 113, l. 24 seq.), and Hadassi also drew from this indirectly².

With Hadassi the older period of Karaite literature closes, and henceforth all independence is stifled. With the exception of the two Aarons (and, in many respects, of Elias Bashiatchi and Caleb Afendopolo), the later authors only repeat what the earlier ones have said, and "enrich themselves by their works." On this ground the Fayyumite still continues to be the object of controversy (but naturally without any new factor in the campaign), although this controversy has long become an anachronism. But, in accordance with our task, we will follow the traces of this controversy, so far as it is present to our view, still further, till the most recent times.

To the twelfth century, and perhaps even to the first half of it, must most probably also belong

32. Elias b. Abraham, the author of the *חלוק הקראים עם הרבנים* (ed. Pinsker, pp. 99 seq.)³. This follows from the

¹ With this is connected the answer of Ben Mashiah mentioned previously (cf. above, p. 16).

² This follows from the fact that the words of Hadassi following upon the conclusions of Saadiah (p. 96, l. 17): דע כי דברי בעל היתומי באשר הביאו: ראה מן ויאכלו מעבור הארץ כי הם ב' לולאות שרין אין הדבר כאשר זכר אמא קול אלפיומי פי מא אחתנו: (Hirschfeld, p. 114, l. 20): מן ויאכלו מעבור הארץ אנהא עיוחין מנהלתין פליס אלאמר כמא זכר.

³ The view of Pinsker (p. יט), Schorr (*החלוק*, VI, 77), and Gottlob (בקרר להולדות הקראים, p. 157), that Elias b. Abraham is not the author, seems

fact that Elias speaks of the sects of the Tiflisites and the Meswites (i. e. the adherents of Abu Imrân al-Tiflisi and Meswi al-Okbari) as still existing in his time (p. 100, l. 13 from bottom: והיום אין בומננו כ"א ד' דתות דת רבנים ורת קראים¹, and that, as will soon have to be mentioned, Saadiah's polemical work against 'Anân (כתאב) was probably still in his hands. But the traces of this work can only be followed up to the twelfth century (cf. *R. É. J.*, XLV, 192). His home cannot be determined, but as Karaite literature in this century has its centre in Byzantium, he should most probably belong to this century². The work of Elias has the form of an epistle to a Rabbanite (Jehuda b. Sabbatai?), and serves the double purpose of defending Karaism and attacking Rabbanism. Saadiah is not mentioned here explicitly, but Pinsker's conjecture seems to be right, that it is he who is meant by "the co-religionist of the receiver, who insulted 'Anân, the teacher of the Diaspora" (p. 103, l. 14: ולבן דתכם אשר חרף לענן משכיל הגולה כנואם הננאם ודובר תמים (יחעבו למה לו תאמינו וכתב), There then follows in the "lying story" of this Rabbanite, as Elias expresses himself (בספור שקרותיו), the well-known account about the advent

to me to be unfounded. Just as little ground is there for the view of Schorr, that the actual work begins with the words אמרו בני [מ]קרא (p. 100, l. 27), for a few lines before (l. 23) the author expressly says: ילכן חשתי ולא: והמהמהתי מלכתוב בולחתי שורותי אלה עסקי דתי וכו' (יחקיים הננאם דורתי ואני אהרש וכו': l. 20) הננאם (l. 20), just as in p. 103, l. 15. Cf. also conclusions of Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, V, 49 seq.

¹ Pinsker (p. 98) also calls attention to this. With regard to the Meswites, I have shown (*R. É. J.*, XXXIV, 163) that they still existed in the twelfth century, and that will certainly have been the case with the Tiflisites. It is thus unnecessary to presume with Harkavy (*Voshkod*, Feb. 1900, p. 77), that here the author of the הלוק simply copied from older sources. The context is also against such a presumption.

² See Pinsker, p. 98. In the list of Karaite scholars at the end of the הלוק (p. 106) only Tobias is mentioned of the well-known Byzantine Karaites; the citation of Hadassi, however, is not certain. See Steinschneider, l. c., 54.

of 'Anân¹. His injured ambition, following upon his removal from the Exilarchate in favour of his younger brother Hanania, drove him to Schisma. 'Anân was in mortal danger owing to the interference of the Arabian government. But following the advice of a Moslem scholar (Abu Hanifa?) imprisoned with him, he was able to win the favour of the Chalif by declaring that he represented a different religion from his brother, to wit, that in opposition to the latter he taught the fixing of the months on the basis of the observation of the moon and the consideration of the ripeness of the corn. The Chalif saw therein a concession to Islam, and showed him favour. Pinsker must also be right in saying that this report was preserved in Saadiah's above-mentioned polemical work.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

33. **Jacob b. Moses Tamâni** (of Taman in the Crimea), according to a tombstone inscription (Firkowitsch, אבני זכרון, no. 98), was the head of a Karaite school, and the author of a work ספר הפתרון, and he was buried in 958 in Tschufut-Kalé. It goes without saying that the date of this inscription, on which the word Tamâni does not occur, was fabricated by Firkowitsch, as there were not yet in the tenth century in the Crimea any Karaite heads of schools, who had many pupils (המעמיד תלמיד' רבי'). It does not at all follow from the work mentioned (the beginning of which is missing) that it bore the title ספר הפתרון, and that its author was called Jacob b. Moses. It is more likely to have been, according to Harkavy (*Altjüd. Denkmäler*, p. 268), the work of an anonymous Byzantine Karaite of the twelfth or thirteenth century. In the few lines that Pinsker (p. 68) has published from this work, "the heretic" (אלמכזאף=המחליף) Saadiah is also mentioned a few times. We have, e.g. his explanation of Exod. iii. 2 (on the burning of fire on the Sabbath; cf. above, p. 24),

¹ Cf. R. *É. J.*, XLIV, 166 seq.

then the assertion that analogy is not to be applied in the case of incest, and hence that it is not forbidden, as the Karaites maintain, to marry a niece¹; and lastly, Saadiah's explanation, mentioned often already, that interprets חלבו והאליה as חלבו האליה.

34. Jefet, called Ibn abi-l-Hasan al-Barqamâni, was a Karaite physician and author in Alexandria. A *terminus a quo* for his life is afforded by the fact that he quotes no later author than Moses Maimonides (מוסי אלקרטי); a *terminus ad quem* is supplied by the mention of his name in a Karaite compilation on Deuteronomy of the year 1351 (see *infra*, No. 38). He must therefore be assigned, with Steinschneider (*Arab. Liter. d. Juden*, § 172), to the middle of the thirteenth century. Apart from a medical work, אלמקאלה אלמחסניה פי חפט אלצהה אלברניה (MS. in Berlin and Oxford), Jefet also composed a polemical work in Arabic against the Rabbanites, under the title ספר תשובה (MS. in St. Petersburg), which consists of seven sections (ונה), and is said to be very violent (see *Monatsschrift*, XLII, 189). Here also Maimonides is quoted very often, and designated as אלמולי אלקריים (also אלקריים, אלקריים מוסי). A passage about Saadiah has been published by Gurland (גוני ישראל, III, Russian part, p. 91): . . . ואדעו (אי אלקרבאנין) פי אלעבור אלנקל: כמה אדעו בעין אלקחכמים מחל רב סעדיה אלקפומי אן אלעבור הלכה למשה מסיני ואן אדם הראשון עבר עליה אלשהר ואלסנין אלך (cf. above, p. 10, n. 2).

35. Natan b. Jehuda is an otherwise quite unknown Karaite author. A passage in his name on the subject of calendar-lore is quoted in a Bodleian MS. of the year 1584 (Cat., vol. II, no. 2789, fol. 45 a; published *J. Q. R.*, VIII, 703) and in Moses Mişorudi's מציאות משה, which was written in 1602 (MS. Leyden, p. 52⁷, fol. 247; see above, p. 47, n. 2). The beginning of this passage reads: אני נתן בן

¹ ירב מיומי עם דבריו החירו אותו מענה בת אחות ובת אח ואמרו אין מקישין בעריות וכו' ¹. 'Anân already derives the prohibition to marry a niece from the analogy respecting the aunt: see *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, p. 173.

יהודה נשאלתי שאלה זאת מן אלופי הקראים אשר הם יושבים בעיר אדום כי מאין לנו מן התורה שני ימים כסוי הירח וכו'. From these words we may infer that Natan did not live in Constantinople (עיר אדום) and that this city was still under Christian dominion. We are, therefore, perhaps not wrong in assigning him to the Crimea in the thirteenth century¹. From the same Bodleian MS. another passage from this Natan is communicated, which is directed against Saadiah's well-known explanation of the verse Gen. i. 14 (והיו לאורות); see above, l. c.), and here we read towards the end: וזה הטעם כתבתי אני נטן בספרי אשר עשיתי תשובה על פיומי וכו'. Thus Natan also composed a polemical work against Saadiah. This fact also testifies to an earlier date for our author, for, as the present essay shows, the Karaites did not cease indulging in polemics against Saadiah till modern times, though they do so only incidentally. None of them, however, composed a special work of controversy. Other traces of Natan's polemics are hitherto unknown.

36. Aaron b. Joseph, or Aaron the Elder, the famous physician of philosophical training, Bible exegete, and liturgical poet, is one of the most prominent representatives of the later period of Karaite literature. Of special importance is his commentary on the Pentateuch, ספר המבחר (ed. Koslow, 1835), which he composed according to his own statement in 1292/3 (on Exod. xii. 2; fol. 14 b: לי . . . זה לי . . . ארבע עשרה שנה קודם זה הפירוט שנת ל"ט בפרט והיה לרבנים מולד תשרי ואנחנו ראינו הישן קרוב בורחת השמש והראינו אותו לרבנים

¹ Simḥa Isaac Lutzki (ארח צדיקים, f. 21 b, l. 22) mentions a קיסריני יהודה, who was perhaps a brother of the Aaron b. Judah, קיסריני, to whom Solomon ha-Nasi sent his epistle on incest (see Steinschneider, *Cat. Lugd.*, p. 234), and who accordingly had lived at the beginning of the twelfth century. But it is impossible to identify him with our Natan, as the latter, in my opinion, did not live in Constantinople. Further on Simḥa Isaac (l. c., f. 22 a, l. 17) mentions among the Karaite scholars of Lithuania a Judah b. Daniel, together with his two sons, Daniel and Natan. But the latter also cannot possibly be our Natan b. Judah, as the literary activity of the Karaites in Lithuania only began in the sixteenth century, hence at the time when Byzantium was no longer Christian.

1. (הנמצאים שם באותו מקום הנקרא סולכאט וכו')¹. Saadiah is mentioned here only twice: (1) on Exod. xiii. 4 (fol. 19 b), on אביב. According to Saadiah's declaration, this verse speaks against the Karaite interpretation of אביב as ripeness of corn, for here the question is about the ripeness in Egypt, which takes place one month earlier than that in Palestine, and therefore cannot serve for the fixing of the months. Aaron replies that this verse would then also point against the Rabbanites, who likewise pay regard to the אביב (הפיתומי) חשב כי טען לקראים בשמור את חדש האביב באמרו כי אביב מצרים כבר (היטחת ולא ידע כי בנפשו הוא). (2) On Lev. iv. 35 (fol. 7 a), on the use of the fat tail (אליה). Contrary to his custom elsewhere, Aaron deals with this subject rather fully. In this passage he already reverts to it a second time, and mentions the name of Saadiah only in connexion with an argument. In Lev. ix. 19-20, where אליה is included in the general concept of חלבים, the Karaites find a support for their prohibition of this fat tail. Saadiah refutes this argument by showing from Exod. xx. 8-10 and similar verses, that when two groups of things are enumerated, of which the one is much less than the other quantitatively, then only the larger group is mentioned, whilst the other is included in it (thus in ver. 20 only חלב is repeated, as this is greater quantitatively in comparison with כליות and יותרת הכבד of ver. 19). This view is opposed by Aaron in the following words: . . . ואין טענת הפיתומי טענה שאמר מנהג העברי להזכיר הרוב ולהניח המעט הנה כי יתן איש אל רעהו חמור או שור או שה ושם כתוב וכל בהמה לשמור ואם נשבע השומר לשקר ישלם על כל דבר פשע על שור על חמור על שה ועל שלמה ולא יתכן שהבגדים נקראו בהמה . . . כן הנה מזכיר החלב ומניח הכליות והיותרת ושמע תשובתו כבר האיש ר' סעדיא שכח בין פרשת שומר חנם לפרשת שומר². But Saadiah is also meant in the passage

¹ For the literature on him see *Jew. Encycl.*, s. v. (I, 14). On the Mibhar cf. especially Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenthums*, II, 356 seq. It is not quite certain that Aaron lived in Constantinople.

² Both these conclusions of Saadiah have hitherto not been known from older sources, so far as I am aware. Could Aaron perhaps have drawn them immediately from Saadiah?

on iii. 9 (fol. 56), where several of his arguments are refuted: . . . הנה אלית הכבש קרבה למזבח ומעו המתירים אותה לאכילה עד שקצתם הוסיפו וי"ו ואמרו חלבו והאליה . . . ועוד טען כי חלבו שם כלל לחמשה הנוכרים . . . ועוד טען כי חלבו הוא כמו חלב יצהר וכו' (cf. *Gan Eden*, fol. 9 b; *Adderet*, ענין שחיטה, cap. 18). Apart from these passages Aaron must hint at Saadiah many times without mentioning his name.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

37. Israel [b. Samuel?] ha-Dajjan (also called ha-Ma'arabi) lived in Cairo at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and is the author of several works in Arabic¹. I have made the conjecture above (No. 26), that the poems preserved at the top of a MS. of David b. Abraham's Lexicon, and which are aimed against Saadiah and Samuel b. Hofni, were perhaps composed, not by Israel b. Daniel, but by our Israel ha-Ma'arabi.

38. The MS. of the British Museum, Or. 2498 (Cat., I, no. 334) contains an Arabic commentary on Deuteronomy, the beginning of which is missing, and which originally extended perhaps over the whole Pentateuch. This commentary, as the colophon states, is compiled from Qirqi-sâni, Jefet b. 'Ali, Sahl b. Maṣliḥ [Abu-l-Surri], Abu-l-

¹ Enumerated in Steinschneider, *Arab. Liter. d. Juden*, § 184. The name of his father Samuel only rests upon a combination of Pinsker (p. 176) that has yet to be confirmed. On the other hand, the Karaite authors call him only רבי ישראל הדין or דמערבי; e.g., his pupil, Jefet b. Ṣagir (in Pinsker, *ibid.*); Aaron b. Elias (*Gan Eden*, f. 22 b; *Keter Tora* on Exod. xii. 2, f. 28 a); Samuel al-Magribi (*Murshid*, Section vii, chap. xiii, ed. Lorge, p. 14); Ibn al-Hiti (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 435, l. 8 from bottom); Elias Bashiatchi (*Adderet*, ענין קד"ח, cap. XL); Moses Bashiatchi (in the ספר עריות, see Steinschneider, *Cat. Lugd.*, p. 12); Judah Meir Taurizi (in Pinsker, p. 144), and Simḥa Isaac Lutzki (ארח צדיקים, f. 21 b, l. 22).—In the Arabic compilation on Deuteronomy about to be mentioned, the author cited as ר' יש [= ישראל] סי אלר"ד עלי אלר' [= אלריס] צאחב אלעריות (see Margoliouth, *Catalogue*, I, p. 268 b) must likewise be our Israel.

Faraj Harûn, Abu-l-Faraj Furqân b. 'Asad [i. e. Jeshua b. Jehuda], and others, of whom Jefet seems to have been used the most, and it was finished in the first ten days of the month Nisan, 1663 (Era of Contracts) or the end of Muharram, 752, of the Hegira (= March, 1351)¹. On xvii. 8 (fol. 49 a) a vigorous controversy is waged against Saadiah, who (according to the precedent of the Talmudists) refers the words *בין דם לדם* to the difference between pure and impure blood (*בין דם קדש לדם*). (ורינהם פהל יכון נקל אקבח מן הוא אלך הוא דם נרות ודם זיבות והוא ידל על פסאד מזהבהם ועדם עקלהם). As mentioned already (cf. above, p. 20), David b. Boaz (?) also controverted this explanation of Saadiah, and it is therefore possible that he was the source whence our compiler drew.

39. Aaron b. Elias, or Aaron the Younger, is also important as a Bible exegete, a teacher of the Law, and a religious philosopher, on which account his co-religionists place him by the side of Maimonides. His place of origin was Nikomedia, in Asia Minor, and he died 1369². For our purpose we have first to consider his Book of Precepts, entitled *גן עדן* (composed 1354, ed. Koslow, 1866). Here also Saadiah is the subject of rather frequent controversy. Aaron deals most fully with the subject of the calendar, and is uncommonly incensed against Saadiah's theory of the great age of the permanent calendar with all its rules. He says that Saadiah, in this assertion, scoffs at his own teachers, the Talmudists, who all firmly maintained the method of observation (fol. 5 b: *... מכלל האיש ר' סעדיא התל : כרבן גמליאל ור' יהושע ור' לרבותיו אשר היו מתנהגים בראיית הירח כרבן גמליאל ור' יהושע ור' (עקיבא וחבריהם ואמר שהם תפשו דת שלא כדון תורה וכו' then*

¹ Cf. my *Aboul-Faradj Haroun ben al-Faradj*, p. 37 (= *R. É. J.*, XXXIII, 216). That Jefet was the principal source follows from the remark on Deut. xxxiii. 4 (published in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Dr. Kohut*, p. 436, n. 3). See also Margoliouth, *Catalogue*, I. c., and Steinschneider, *Arab. Liter. d. Juden*, §§ 132, 235 (also my *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, p. 79).

² Cf. on him finally *Jew. Encycl.*, s. v. (I, 9, 10), and *אוצר ישראל*, s. v. (I, 161).

advances his arguments and objections against observation (ואלו הם פגותיו וקושיותיו ושבושיו), altogether ten in number), and refutes it. Then Aaron opposes Saadiah's assertion that all the data in the Talmud from which it is inferred the *Dehijot* had no validity, are to be understood only theoretically (fol. 6 d: ... והואיל והביאו זה מצד המעשה במלו: דרברי הפיתומי שאמר כי כל מקום שיאמרו חל טעמו ע"ד רדיפה וכו' Incidentally we learn that Saadiah's opinion of those data, which could not in any case be taken theoretically, was that they contain only the view of individuals but not the generally accepted view (fol. 7 b: ... כשעיין באלו הענינים: זה האיש סעדיא הפיתומי אמר כי זה היה דת לקצת אנשים אך לא לכלל (האומה ודבריו גלויי הסתירה לפי הנראה ומכחיש האמת בידוע וכו' He further attacks the theory of the great age of intercalation, which he refutes with arguments from the Talmud itself (fol. 15 b); and he also mentions his objection, that אביב can also signify the name of the month (fol. 16 d, where he calls Saadiah בנפשו (המהתל בנפשו). The other passages concern the problem of ממהרת השבת (fol. 53 a), the process of מליקה (fol. 89 d), the use of the fat tail (fol. 96 d: רואש החולקים: הוא סעדיא הפיתומי אשר עמד לחלוק כנגד דעת הקראים וחכמינו ע"ה כבר שברו מלחמותיו; rather thorough and complete), and the theory of the Levirate marriage (fol. 159 b: the name of Saadiah is not mentioned here, though he is the author of the view, introduced by יטעון ואם, that Lev. xviii. 16 suffers limitation through Deut. xxv. 5, just as, e. g. Lev. xxiii. 3 through Num. xxviii. 9, see *supra*, p. 26).

All the views of Saadiah mentioned here are already known from earlier sources, from which Aaron also must have obtained them. On the other hand, the refutations often contain new points, especially with regard to the last matter, where logical categories are introduced. The manner of treatment is mostly pertinent and calm, as befits a serious scholar, though we have seen that the tone is not always distinguished.

In the commentary on the Pentateuch, *כתר תורה* (composed 1362; ed. Koslow, 1866-7), in which rabbinical authors are

very often mentioned¹, Saadiah, remarkably enough, is not quoted a single time, and just as little in the religio-philosophical work עץ חיים (composed 1346; ed. Leipzig, 1841; Koslow, 1847).

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

40. **Samuel b. Moses al-Magribi**, a Karaite physician and author in Cairo, composed among other things a Book of Precepts in Arabic, entitled אלמרישר (finished July 2, 1434), which consists of twelve sections, and is extant in MS. in London, Berlin, and (partly) in St. Petersburg². It is distinguished by lucidity and orderly arrangement. The parts edited are: Section II, on Sabbath, ed. N. Weisz (Pressburg, 1907); Section III, on the calendar, ed. F. Kauffmann (Frankfurt a. M., 1903; see my critical notice, *J. Q. R.*, XVI, 405 seq.); Section IV, chap. i-xviii, on the fast- and feast-days, ed. Junowicz (Berlin, 1904; cf. *ibid.*, XVII, 594); Section VI, chap. i-xxii, on the laws contained in the section *Mishpâtîm*, ed. Gitelsohn (Berlin, 1904; cf. *ibid.*, XVIII, 560), and Section VII, on the dietary-

¹ They are as follows: David (al-Muqammes? I, f. 15 b); Hayyûj (I, 39 b, 45 b; II, 69 b); Abulwalid (I, 39 b, 64 a, 68 a, 69 a, 80 b; II, 4 b, 22 a, 49 a); Moses ibn Chiquitilla (II, 101 b); Rashi (I, 6 a; II, 93 a, 95 a); Abraham ibn Ezra (very often); Maimonides (I, 7 a, 25 b; III, 63 b); Nahmanides (I, 7 a); David Kimhi (I, 45 b; II, 4 b; III, 16 b); Judah (b. Solomon ibn Matqa) of Toledo (I, 7 b, 8 a) and Shemariah Ikriti (I, 6 b).

² Cf. Steinschneider, § 199 (also my remarks in *Monatsschrift*, XLII, 189, and in my *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, pp. 76, 77). According to Steinschneider, Samuel b. Moses [b. Jeshûa] al-Magribi [the physician, הרופא] was already identified or confused by the Karaites with Samuel (so read for Solomon) b. Moses b. H̄esed El ibn al-סני [the teacher, המלמד] (cf. especially Catalogue of Heb. MSS. in Berlin, II, no. 202), and hence a work entitled מקדמא is ascribed first to the one, then to the other. It is interesting to point out that in a Karaite prayer-book written by Daniel Firuz (MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 2531; Cat., II, no. 725) we read as follows (f. 90 b, cited in the *Catalogue*, p. 462 b): יקום יקף אלוי ביקרא אדרש אלוי רלבוה: האנצנה ואסמחם אלמקדמא אלך. Thus both Samuels have composed such a work, and hence the confusion. Or, on the other hand, is this confusion reflected also in our notice? Cf. also *R. É. J.*, LI, 155.

laws, ed. Lorge (Berlin, 1907). No rabbinical author is mentioned in this work by name, but Saadiah is anonymously made the subject of controversy. Thus, in Section III, chap. 1 (ed. Kauffmann, p. 4*, l. 7), Saadiah's interpretation of Gen. i. 14, already mentioned a few times in this study, is characterized as that of a heretic (וקר' והיו לאותות הו ראנע) אלי אלמאורות אלמזכורה לא [אלי] אליום ואללילה כמה זעם בעין אלמזאלפין; cf. also *J. Q. R.*, XVI, 406).

41. **David b. Saad'el** [=Saadiah] **ibn al-Hiti** (of Hit on the Euphrates) is the author of a register of Karaite scholars, among whom the Samuel al-Magribi just mentioned is the latest. It thus appeared probably about the middle of the fifteenth century, but in spite of his comparative youth and in spite of his lack of critical power, it is not altogether without value, as the author apparently often had at his disposal good older sources. We have also made use of it here rather frequently, not without profit. This register is edited, with an English translation, by G. Margoliouth (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 429-43, also separately; cf. my notice in *Z. f. H. B.*, II, 79), under the title "Ibn al-Hiti's Arabic Chronicle of Karaite Doctors." Saadiah is mentioned here a few times in conjunction with various Karaite authors (see p. 432, l. 19; p. 433, l. 11; p. 435, ll. 8, 10, 19), but the only thing of interest is the statement that Salmon b. Jeroham died in Aleppo, that Saadiah followed the bier in rent garments and barefooted, and that, when he was reproached about it, he is said to have replied: "We have both derived great profit from our mutual controversy. There is not the slightest doubt about his [Salmon's] knowledge; and hence I did what I did" (p. 434, l. 20 seq.). Probably Ibn al-Hiti did not invent this fable, but took it from an older Karaite author.—Cf. also Steinschneider, *Arab. Liter. d. Juden*, § 200, and *infra*, No. 49.

42. **Elias b. Moses Bashiatchi**, who is distinguished "by conspicuous knowledge of the older literature, by complete mastery over the rich material, and who presents

the clearest and plainest method among the Karaite codifiers¹,” died in Constantinople, 23 Sivan, 1490, without completing his Book of Precepts אדרת אליו (ed. Constantinople, 1531; Koslow, 1834; Odessa, 1870)². In this work, which attained predominant authority among the later Karaites, Bashiatchi records the older opinions and hence mentions also the opinions of Saadiah. In the introduction, for example, he disputes Saadiah’s explanation of Exod. xxiv. 12 (בזה הפסוק נדחקו קצת מבעלי הקבלה עד שהנאון) . . . הפיתומי אמר כי מה שאמר כתבתי דבק עם לוחות האבן לא עם התורה והמצוה כי השם יתעלה לא כתב רק עשרת הדברים ופירש התורה תורה שבכתב והמצוה תורה שבעל פה . . . והתשובה עליו מה שאמר כתבתי דבק עם לוחות האבן לא עם התורה והמצוה זה צריך אהוב שיאמין בו³ (כי כתבתי הוא אחר התורה והמצוה והיה ראוי שיהיה קודם מהם וכו’). Then he discusses the themes touched on most often in the controversy with Saadiah, viz. the questions of calendar-lore (ענין קדוש החדש, chap. 6, 9, 15, and 36), fire-burning on the Sabbath (ע’ שבת, chap. 4, 18), and the forbidden pieces of fat (ע’ שחיטה, chap. 18). Moreover, he also controverts Saadiah without mentioning his name, e. g. in reference to ממחרת השבת (ע’ חג השבועות, chap. 3), &c. In all these questions Bashiatchi follows earlier protagonists, especially Aaron b. Elias, but by his clear and systematic classification of the material he throws a brighter light upon many a matter that had till then received scant consideration.

43. Kaleb b. Elias Afendopolo (or Efendopulo). He was a pupil and brother-in-law of the preceding. He is justly called the last Karaite polyhistor, for he represents

¹ Frankl in his article “Karaiten” (in Ersch u. Gruber, II, vol. XXXIII, p. 21).

² The work was then completed by Kaleb b. Elias Afendopolo, the well-known pupil and brother-in-law of Bashiatchi; but he was also overtaken by death before he was able to bring his work to a complete conclusion. Cf. the following number.

³ This explanation of Saadiah is already controverted by Tobias b. Moses, who, however, does not quote it fully: see above, p. 62. Cf. also Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.*, IV, 1093.

in his own personality the entire learning of his age¹. Among his numerous writings, which deal with the most diverse scientific subjects, there is also an incomplete supplement to the *אדרת אליהו*, which has just been mentioned. This work mentions the date, 1497, in several places. In the supplement to *ענין טומאה וטהרה* (ed. Odessa, 136 c, at foot), he discusses the commandment of the red heifer, the ashes of which possessed the well-known property of defiling the pure and cleansing the unclean. He quotes Saadiah's view², but he is as little satisfied with it as with the exegesis of the other Rabbanite and Karaite authorities, whom he quotes previously.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

44. **Moses b. Elias Bashiatchi**, a great-grandson of Elias b. Moses Bashiatchi (no. 42 above), is generally represented as a prodigy. Born in 1554, at Constantinople, he is said by his sixteenth year to have already acquired many languages (Greek, Arabic, Spanish) and to have composed many works. He then started on his travels, but died two years after, 26 Iyar, 1572, as a young man of eighteen (Mordecai b. Nisan, *דר מרדכי*, ed. Vienna, fol. 9 b). How much of this is true it is hard to ascertain³; but it is a fact that he understood Arabic, and that he had before him many

¹ For the literature about him, see my article in the *Hebrew Encyclopedia*, *אוצר ישראל*, vol. II, pp. 172-4, s. v. *אפנדופולו*, where I have endeavoured to determine the time when he lived.

² ואמר רב סעדיה הגאון שהפירה רומה לדבש שמוק לבצל המרה הארומה ויועיל לבצל : והיה גם רומה לשמש שכלבן הדבר המכונס ומשחר פני הכונס : It appears from the examples quoted here, which do not agree with those given in *Emunoth* (section iii, end), that Afendopolo must presumably have used an intermediary source—i. e. ibn Ezra on Numbers xix, 2. It must, however, be remarked that the first instance only is adduced there.

³ Much more probable is another statement contained in the St. Petersburg MS. of his *כמה אלהים* (in Neubauer, *Aus d. Petersb. Bibl.*, p. 121), that Moses B. died in 1555, at the age of twenty-eight. Cf. also Steinschneider, *Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden*, I, p. 106, no. 124, and *J. Q. R.*, XVIII, 188.

monuments of the oldest Karaite literature. In Egypt he found fragments of 'Anân's Book of Precepts in the original Aramaic, which he included in his זבח פסח (cf. *R. É. J.*, XLV, 176 seq.). The Pentateuch commentary of Abu-l-Faraj Harûn was also known to him (see *ibid.*, XXXIII, 217; reprint, p. 38), &c. In his מטה אלהים he gives a chain of tradition of the Karaite teachers (reproduced by Mordecai b. Nisan, l. c., fol. 11 b). Here we read, among other things, that Saadiah flourished at the time of Salmon b. Jeroham, Joseph b. Noah, Jacob b. Isaac Qirqisâni, Hasan b. Mashiah, and Abraham b. Isaac al-Basri; that he was a disciple of Salmon; and that Joseph disputed with him in his ספר המאור, composed in 930 . . . והם העתיקוה לרב נח והוא העתיק לרב שלמה בן ירוחם ולרב יוסף בן נח ולרב יעקב בן יצחק הקרקסאני ולרב חסור [sic!] בן משיח ולרב אברהם בן יצחק הנוצרי ובזמניהם היה רב סעדיה גאון ז"ל הפיתומי והוא היה תלמידו של רב שלמון בן ירוחם ורב יוסף השיגו ונמצאו יחד שניהם בזמן אחד והקשה עליו ר' יוסף והכריח לו במענותיו כאשר מזכיר (בספרו בספר המאור וחבר בשנת ארבעת אלפים שש מאות וז') ליצירה. Here we have, so far as is known, the oldest source for the information, often repeated by later Karaites, that Saadiah was a pupil of Salmon¹, and this information caused Firkowitsch to fabricate the *Muqaddima* named after Salmon (Pinsker, p. 61 seq.). By the Joseph who disputed with Saadiah we have likewise to understand Qirqisâni, whom Moses Bashiatchi mostly calls רבי יוסף, but whom he also styles once as Joseph b. Isaac b. Jacob Q. and another time as Joseph b. Jacob Q. Hence we should probably read in the chain of tradition: רבי יוסף בן יעקב בן יצחק הקרקסאני. ולרב [יוסף בן]. He always entitles his work as המאור הגדול, and only once as ספר האורים, so that here also המאור is to be given the full form of המאור הגדול².

¹ Another of the recent writers on the Talmud (Bernfeld, *Der Talmud*, Berlin, 1900, p. 83) asserts that this is a fact, and that it is admitted by both sides, Karaite and Rabbinical!

² Cf. the passages in question from the works of B. in *Steinschneider-Festschrift*, pp. 214 seq., where I also point out that Qirqisâni was

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

45. **Elias b. Baruch Jerushalmi** belongs to the second half of the seventeenth century. We find him in Elul, 1654, in Constantinople, where he hospitably entertained the Karaite travellers from the Crimea, Moses Jerushalmi b. Elias ha-Levi and Elias b. David, in his house¹. But he must have migrated later to the Crimea, for Simḥa Isaac Lutzki mentions him among the scholars of this country (ארה צריקים, fol. 21 b, l. 3 from bottom). Elias composed certain works (enumerated by Fürst, III, 67), which, however, exist only as manuscripts. He was also a scribe and particularly copied old polemical works of the Karaites, which he provided with prefatory remarks and postscripts, e.g. the polemical treatise of Sahl b. Maṣṣiah against Jacob b. Samuel (Pinsker, pp. 25, 27, 43). In a concluding note on a copy of Salmon b. Jeroham's controversial work, which has been preserved from Pinsker's literary remains in the Vienna *Beth ha-Midrash* (No. 27³; cf. Pinsker, p. 35), Elias indulges in such violent abuse of Saadiah that the pen refuses to repeat the words². We there read that many Karaites engaged in a polemical campaign against the godless Fayyumite, e.g. David b. Boaz (מר דוד הנשיא בן בוז), "his teacher" Salmon b. Jeroham (סלמון) (הוכאי הנשיא ע"ה)³.

confused with al-Baṣīr (but perhaps this confusion originates with the copyists; cf. also the following number). The designation of Qirgisāni's כחאב אלמאור as כחאב המאור ought to serve as a sufficient distinction from Baṣīr's כחאב אלמאור (ספר המאור = כחאב).

¹ See the account of the travels of this Moses, ed. Gurland (גוני ישראל, part I, p. 31): "...וביום ה' [י"א אלול התי"ר] באנו לקוסמיא וחנינו בליל יום ששי (31) בבית כה"ר אליהו ירושלמי יצ"ו בכ"ד ברוך ירושלמי יצ"ו ואכלנו ושהינו משלחנו עמיהם. כמה שומן הקב"ה. Cf. also Neubauer, *Aus d. Petersb. Bibl.*, pp. 47, 67.—The surname Jerushalmi, which both Elias and his father Baruch bear, and which is also to be met with among other Karaites of the later time, does not signify absolutely that its bearers came from Jerusalem, but that they had made a pilgrimage to the holy city (hence analogous to the Moslem Ḥajji) or had sojourned there some time.

² Published by Bardach, מוכרי לבני רשף (Vienna, 1869), p. 27.

³ Elias has here a hovering notion of the name of the Exilarch David b. Zakkai, the opponent of Saadiah.

בן ירוחם רבו המשיב לו תשובות כהלכה ומוכיחו על פניו על חלומותיו
 and his colleague, Joseph al-Baṣir, also a disciple
 of Salmon, in his work *ha-Maor*, composed in the year 910
 וגם חברו של פיומי רבנו יוסף הרואה תלמידו של רבינו סלמון רבו
 (בספרו המאור המחויבר בשנת ד"א שש"ע). The ban which Salmon,
 according to right and custom, hurled against his rebellious
 pupil, provoked Saadiah to such a degree of agitation and
 fear that he fell into a melancholy, died of it in 942, and
 was denied an honourable burial in Sura. Elias seems
 to have taken these various chronological snippets partly
 from Moses Bashiatchi¹.

46. Mordecai b. Nisan composed among other things, as
 is well known, in the form of an answer to the questions of
 Trigland, the little work *דר מרדכי*, which pretends to be
 a history of Karaism. He finished it July 18, 1699, in
 Krasni Ostrow (or Kokizow), not far from Lemberg, and it
 first appeared in Wolf's *Notitia Karaeorum*, Hamburg, 1714.
 Saadiah is mentioned here only quite incidentally, e. g. in
 the above-mentioned chain of tradition of Moses Bashiatchi
 reproduced here. In another passage (ed. Vienna, fol. 13 a)
 Mordecai states that the Karaite chronology agrees with
 that of the Rabbanites. For example, of the latter,
 Gedaliah ibn Yahya, in his *Shalshet*, gives 942 as the
 year of Saadiah's death (וכמו כן בשנעין במספר תאריכיהם)
 שזכרו את רבי סעדיה גאון שלהם שכתב בערו רבי גדליה אבן יחיא
 (בשלשלת הקבלה שרבי סעדיה גאון נפטר בשנת ד' אלפים תש"ב ליצירה),
 and this agrees (?) with the assertion of the Karaites just
 mentioned, that Saadiah was a pupil of Salmon, and that
 he is the object of a polemical attack in the *Sefer ha-Maor*,
 composed in 930. In conclusion, he speaks (fol. 13 b) of
 the letter of Menahem, mentioned by Trigland, to עקילס הגר
 (ed. Pinsker, p. 55 seq.; see *supra*, No. 4),
 and doubts whether this Saadiah is identical with the
 Gaon. He does not evince a trace of hatred against the
 Fayyumite.

¹ So for instance on the polemics against Saadiah סדר המאור, only that
 he independently added after רב יוסף the word הרואה.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

47. **Abraham b. Josiah Jerushalmi** is included among the scholars of the Crimea by Simḥa Isaac Lutzki (ארח צדיקים, fol. 21 b, l. 2 from bottom), and lived in Tschufut-Kalé, as he also bears the surname קלעי (ibid., fol. 26 a, s. v. שאול שאל). He is the author of a work entitled אמונה אמן (ed. Koslow, 1846), which is uncommonly interesting in many respects. In the first place the author manifests an unexampled extensive knowledge of the Rabbinical literature, extending not only to the halakhic but also to the theological and other branches, and he speaks of this and also of the Talmudical literature with an esteem that could hardly be surpassed by a Rabbanite. He especially reveres Maimonides, whose works he has studied with diligence¹. Abraham composed this work whilst he was still young and lived a wandering life, and he finished it, according to the postscript, in the year 1712². The greatest part (ff. 4 b-44 b) is devoted to the demonstration whether the Karaite or the Rabbanite law is the true one, and here also he discusses the matter with the Rabbanites in the calmest tone and only occasionally uses a rather violent expression. For example, in the only passage in which Saadiah is mentioned (fol. 33 b), it is said that the Rabbanites in their controversy with the Karaites adopt as their support either the plain meaning of scripture (פישט) or tradition (קבלה). But they could not succeed with the *Peshat*, as this is against them. Thus Saadiah maintained that the Jewish religion does not teach the observation of the moon but the calculation of the calendar, and that this is based upon scripture itself. But this is wrong, as Maimonides in his commentary on the Mishna and Ibn Ezra, besides others, admits³. Similarly, his opinion that

¹ I hope to analyse this work shortly in a special notice.

² F. 49 b: ועוד כי חברתי ואני נער גולה ועוד ממקומי . . . ועוד חסרתי . . . מהפירושים וספרי הנמרות . . . וזכני להשלים מחברתי זה הספר עצות מרחוק אמונה אמן ביום שני לשבוע בסדר ואת העם צו לאמר בשנת ה'תע"ב ליצירה וכו'.

³ . . . בראשונה רב סעדיה נאמן שהשיב ואמר כי לפי פשטי הכתובים אין דת ישראל בטיה

the fat tail (אליה) is not designated in scripture as fat is altogether wrong, and Ibn Ezra admitted here also that the Gaon was mistaken. Nay, even Alfasi expressly states in his *Halakhot* (*Hullin*, section VII), that the fat tail is indeed called fat, but that the Bible nevertheless permitted its enjoyment¹. In fact, all Saadiah's objections against the Karaites were void and vain (שהשיב אלא כל תשובות), and even the greatest Rabbanite scholar could not offer any real reply, as what was false could not possibly be given out as truth (ולא הנאון סעדיה בלבד שלא יוכל להשיב תשובות אמתיות לבעלי מקרא) אלא אפילו הגרול שבהם לא יוכל בזה כי אין בעולם מי שיאמת השקר כי (לנמנע טבע קיים והמשכיל יבין). By the "greatest" scholar he doubtless means Maimonides, whom, as already mentioned, he places in the highest rank of Rabbinical learning.

על פי הראיה אלא על פי החשבון כמו שנוהגים היום ואין ספק כי זה שקר גמור וכבר העיר לשקרות זה הרב הגרול רבי' משה בר מיימון וצ"ל בפירושו במשנה וז"ל ואני המיה מאדם יכחיש הראות ויאמר כי דת היהודים איננה בנויה על ראית הלבנה אלא על פי החשבון בלבד. . . . וכן הראב"ע וז"ל אמר ובמשנה ראיות כאריות שנפל הפסח בברז' וכו'. What is meant here is the passage in Maimonides' *Comm. on Rosh ha-Shana*, II, 6, and in Ibn Ezra on Lev. xxiii. 3 (but the latter passage is indirectly taken from Aaron b. Elias).

. . . וכבר ידוע שאפילו רבותיו מודים שהאליה תקרא חלב כמו שכתוב בהלכות רב אלפס¹ בפרק גיר הנשה וז"ל ואליה גופא אף על גב דמקריא חלב רחמנא שריא דכחיב כל חלב שור וכשב ועו לא האכלו דבר השוה בשור וכשב ועו הוא דאסור ואליה הואיל ואינה שוה בשור וכשב ועו רבננא היא דקרבה ובשור ועו לא קרבה [שריא] ע"כ. But Abraham b. Josiah, who, according to his own statement, had no copy of the Talmud before him when composing his work (see above, p. 88, n. 2), was unable to know that Alfasi here simply paraphrases a Talmudical passage, see *Hullin*, 117a (cf. *Keritot*, 4a): א"ל רב מרי לרב זבד אי אליה איקראי חלב: (החסר באכילה א"ל ע"ך) אמר קרא כל חלב שור וכשב ועו דבר השוה בשור וכשב ועו רב אשי אמר חלבו האליה איקראי חלב כחמא לא איקראי וכו'. Incidentally be it remarked that this Talmudical passage, in which only late Amoraim appear, and which in *Hullin* gives quite the impression of an editorial addition, was perhaps also intended to weaken the objections of many people to the permitted enjoyment of the fat tail. Thus the Karaites would in this case have only had to attach themselves to a pioneer opposition of earlier times.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

48. **Joseph Solomon Lutzki b. Moses** (called ה"ש"ר), Haham in Koslow in the first half of the nineteenth century (born 1769, died December 10, 1844; for his epitaph see Firkowitsch, *אבני זכרון*, pp. 241-2), composed a very thorough supercommentary on the *Mibhar*, entitled *טירת נספ* (completed 17 Ab, 1825), which was published together with the *Mibhar* in Koslow, 1835¹. Here Joseph Solomon remarks, on Lev. iii. 9 (fol. 5 b, n. 136 seq.), that the arguments adduced by Aaron b. Joseph, that the fat tail is not comprised under חלב, are those of Saadiah: [וטעו המתירים אותה לאכילה] עד שקצתם הוסיפו וי"ו [ואמרו חלבו והאליה] זה ר' סעדיה גאון שפירש והאליה בתוספת וי"ו כדי שלא תוכלל בתוך פרטי החלבים הנוכרים אחריה . . . עוד טען הפיתומי כי אע"פ שיהיה חלבו שם כלל הוא כולל הה' חלבים הנוכרים אחר אמרו האליה אבל האליה אינה נכללת במלת חלבו וכו'. He naturally obtained this information from Aaron b. Elias (*Gan Eden*, fol. 96) or Elias Bashiatshi (*Adderet*, שחיטה, cap. 18).

49. **Abraham b. Samuel Firkowitsch** (born at Lutzk 21 Elul, 1788, died at Tschufut-Kalé 22 Sivan, 1874), a brother-in-law and pupil of the preceding, is at the same time the last noted Karaite scholar². His epoch-making importance, which was the cause of much blessing as well as of much harm, is too well known that we should dilate upon it here. We shall therefore, in accordance with our object, merely examine his relations with Saadiah.

Firkowitsch began his literary career with abusive writings directed against Rabbanite Judaism. One of them (חותם חכנית) he added as an appendix to the מבחר ישרים

¹ See on him and his work also Jost, II, 374; Gottlober, p. 179, and Fürst, III, 131 seq.

² The day and year of his birth are given by Firkowitsch himself in *הנרמל*, II (1861, 1862), 169. The literature on him in *Jew. Encycl.*, s. v. (V, 394), is not complete. Cf., e. g., Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, XI, 142 seq.; Frankl, *Monatsschrift*, XXV, 479; Steinschneider, *Vorlesungen über d. Kunde hebr. Handschriften*, p. 82, &c.

(Koslow, 1835) edited by him (fol. 49-58)¹. The other (מסה ומריבה) appeared as an independent work (ibid., 1838). In outward form the author here follows the example of Hadassi, inasmuch as he takes the Ten Commandments as his text, and writes in rhymed prose, although the style is somewhat more fluent and pleasant than that of his predecessor. But in regard to matter also, he follows throughout those of the older Karaite authors who are lacking in every feeling of respect for their opponent. In this work Saadiah is occasionally made the object of a polemical attack, and is mentioned by name. The author also repeats the statement that the Gaon was a pupil of Salmon, and that in his religio-philosophical work he followed the footsteps of his teacher (fol. 134 b: וגם ראה [ר"ל הרמב"ם] ספרי קדמונינו ולמד מהמה בספר רבנו סלמון (sic) מאד מחברת נעמה שהיה רבו של סעדיה גאון משנאנו: בכן דרך בספר אמונות שלו בדרך רבו סלמון בן ירוחם אין לחכמתו ערך משלמות הפעולה שלמות (הפועל נוכח), nay, that he had learnt the philosophy of the Kalâm, upon which this work is built, from the Karaites, just as Maimonides himself admits that this philosophy first appeared among them (fol. 135 a: ר"ל ... בן הודה [ר"ל הרמב"ם] שאצל הקראים נמצאה חכמה [חכמת 1]. הדברים בשם פילוסופיא ; see *Moreh*, I, 71). In fact, all important Rabbanite scholars who, in accordance with the precept of 1 Chron. xxviii. 9, strove after a true knowledge, like Saadiah, Maimonides, and others, only followed the example of the Karaites, who first made this knowledge a duty (fol. 137 a: הראשונים בדבר זה החקירה ... חייבו היו הקראים ... ותלו עצמם על פסוק דע את אלהי אביך . . . ואחריהם כל ישרי לב רבנים נמשכו גדולי חכמיהם בדרכי קראים הלכו סעדיה (ורמב"ם וכל הנלויים האמת קבלו וכו'). In the controversy about single points of difference among Rabbanites and Karaites,

¹ Also in the supplement to Aaron b. Joseph's Isaiah commentary (from cap. lix), entitled קצור הנליות ישעיה, he continually disputes with the Rabbanites in a very abusive tone; see, e. g., on lix. 5; lx. 22; lxii. 11; lxv. 4, 7, 8, 11, &c. Cf. also Geiger, l. c., 147.

Saadia is mentioned only in the discussion about the burning of fire on the Sabbath (fol. 51 a: גם פיתומי בהפכו : תבערו לתבעירו לא הריח כי שתיהן להדלקה נאמרו וכו').

But in proportion as Firkowitsch began to make his discoveries, his relation towards Rabbinism changed. Whether it was that in consequence of his scientific ardour his ideas had become enlarged¹, whether it was that he now needed the good will of the Rabbanite scholars², the fact is that from 1839 he no longer indulged in any objectionable remarks in his published works against the Rabbanites, and that he gave expression to this altered disposition in his famous letter to Bezalel Stern in the year 1841 (published in part in *אוצר נחמד*, I, 105)³. Now Saadia also receives honour from his hands, especially in a treatise in which he communicates the discovery of fragments of two works of Saadia, the *ספר האגרון* and the *ספר הגליון* (in *המליץ*, VIII, 1868, no. 26-7; partly quoted by Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, V, 12 seq., 135 seq.). He rejoices exceedingly at the discovery of his "great and wonderful work," the *ספר האגרון*, because here Saadia, "our holy teacher," gave a positive date (ומי יוכל לחות ולהופיע את גורל השעשוע) אשר אני משתעשע בתאריך חבורו שהיה נעלם עד היום מכל חכמי לב (אשר כתב רבנו הקדוש הזה בירו הקדושה במלות ברורות וכו'). All the Gaon's opponents were worthless fellows who invented godless libels against him (כל הטענות אשר טענו על) דבריו . . . ר' דוד בן זכאי וכלף בן שרנאדו בעלילות רשע את אישים (פועלי און הקושרים עליו). He regretted himself that he was once one of the foes of the Gaon (של הראב"ד [על] פטירת הגאון מן המרה השחורה . . . לא העלוא על ספריהם רק קצת המאמינים לקבלתו או השונאים את הרס"ג מבני מקרא (כמונן לפני זה) הביאוו בספריהם . . . ועל חטאתי אבקש מכבוד מעלתו מחילה בעולם (הבא). Firkowitsch also admits here that Saadia was older

¹ So Geiger, I. c., 149.

² So Harkavy, *Altjüd. Denkmäler*, pp. 211 seq., whose judgment, however, is somewhat too one-sided.

³ Cf. also his preface to Solomon b. Mubhar's *חוק ד* (Odessa, 1866).

than Salmon, and hence that the statement of Ibn al-Hiti (see *supra*, No. 41) caused difficulties (. . . ואולי יש שרש דבר) בדברי בן אלהי שהיה הרס"ג בארם צובה בזמן פטירת הרסב"י והחאבל עליו אך לא אוכל לדעת איך אפשר להיות אחרי שהרסב"י חבר פי' תהלים בשנת תתפ"ז לחרבן ד"א תשי"ו והרס"ג נפטר בשנת ד"א תש"ב לפי המוסכם¹ (כהנ"ל וכו') and so forth in the same tone. In another work, where he likewise has the opportunity of mentioning Saadiah (בני רשף, Vienna, 1871, p. 8 seq.), he does this quite objectively.

With Firkowitsch the fountains of Karaite learning dry up completely, for the extremely little that has flowed from a Karaite pen during the last thirty years is hardly worthy of mention; and so with him there closes the polemical campaign against Saadiah. But it is worth while now calling particular attention to a phenomenon. In this essay we have passed in review almost a full thousand years, and we have seen that we cannot speak of any development whatever in this controversy. The number of the controversialists is indeed not very great, but still it forms a distinguished host. The points in the dispute, however, are almost always the same, and we seldom meet any new factors or new points of view. The tone mostly depends not on internal but on external factors: it is calm or violent according to the temperament of each disputant. But throughout the course of centuries the argument proceeds along the same track. Our dissertation, therefore, is of interest not only as a bibliographical document but also as a chapter in the history of culture.

¹ Harkavy, *Stud. u. Mitt.*, V, 136, n. 2, did not yet know who is meant by this Ibn al-Hiti.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO MY ESSAY
ON "THE ANTI-KARAITE WRITINGS OF
SAADIAH GAON"

(*J. Q. R.*, X, 238-76).

In general, cf. Steinschneider, *Arab. Liter. d. Juden*, pp. 50-1 and 65 (no. 10-13), also *ibid.*, p. 339; my *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, pp. 42-3, and Bacher, *Jewish Encycl.*, X, p. 582, as well as the passages quoted there. In particular, the following must also be added:

P. 242, l. 3 from bottom. Saadiah's work against 'Anân was preserved longer than I originally assumed, for it is mentioned in a list of books at the end of the twelfth century. See *R. É. J.*, XLV, 192, No. 2, and the passages quoted there. Cf. also *supra*, No. 32, and Hirschfeld, *J. Q. R.*, XIX, 137.

P. 244, l. 23 seq. The conclusion of the כתאב אלתמיז has been found in the Geniza, and edited by Hirschfeld (*J. Q. R.*, XVI, 102-5)¹. We learn from it that the whole work consisted perhaps of eight sections (see p. 103, l. 18: ושרח אלבאב אלה אלדי הו מערפא אליום אלי אלמחזד פי אלגולות), and that the penultimate, seventh section (the conclusion of which is extant in this fragment) dealt with the problem of ממחרת השבת, whilst in the last the question about the two days' observance of festivals (except the Day of Atonement) in the Diaspora is discussed. This last section, which has been preserved in its entirety, occupies altogether two printed pages, and if we were to conclude from this with regard to the other sections, the כתאב אלתמיז must have been small in compass. But it is also possible that the work became split up into several

¹ The fragment edited by Harkavy (*J. Q. R.*, XIII, 656, 657) is probably rather a part of Saadiah's polemical work against Ibn Sāqaweihi, see above, No. 2.

parts (מקאלות), and that we have before us only the seventh and eighth sections of the last part¹. We know, as a matter of fact, that this work must have dealt with other subjects besides the calendar and the festivals (see my essay, p. 252).

We can enter only very briefly here into the contents of this fragment. In the seventh section it is shown, in the first place, that one and the same word (in our case שבת) in two neighbouring verses, or even in one and the same verse can very well have two different meanings (hence, in our case, festival-day and week); and secondly, that the Karaites are wrong in deducing an argument for their own interpretation from the non-mention of a fixed date for the Feast of Weeks in the Bible. Then the opinion of a יהודה אלכסנדראני is advanced, that just as the harvest of wheat is fifty days distant from that of barley, so is that of the new wine from that of wheat, which thus falls at the end of Tammuz, and that a similar interval divides the harvest of oil from that of the new wine, so that on the 20th of Elul an oil offering had to be brought. Saadiah adds that the author had arguments in support of this (ואלדליל) (לה עלי דלך). That Philo is meant by this Judah the Alexandrian, as Hirschfeld supposes, is possible; these recent discoveries have shown that his works (in an oriental translation) were known in the ninth and tenth centuries in the East, and that he is also quoted, for example, by Qirqisâni as אלכסנדראני (see all the details in my essay, "Philon dans l'ancienne littérature judéo-arabe," in *R. É. J.*, L, 10-31).—In the last or eighth section it is also stated that it is a tradition handed down by the prophets that outside Palestine two days were observed instead of one; and it is then shown that no offence is thus intended against Deut. xiii. 1, for we do not read here: "Whatsoever I *write* unto you . . . ye shall not add thereto, nor diminish from it," but "Whatsoever I *command* you," and that which is handed down by tradition must be regarded as having been

¹ This would become a certainty if the המקאלות אלוהי, mentioned in the next note, were really taken from the *Tamjiz*.

commanded just as well as that which is written (p. 103, l. 9 from bottom: *... פאלתמסת אלמקרא לעלי אן אנרה ינאקצהם בקול לא* : תוסף עליו ולא [MS. ולם] תגרע ממנו פתבנת אול אלפסוק פאדא-לים פיה את כל הדבר אשר אנכי כותב לכם ואנמא הו מצוה אתכם וונרת (אלמנקול ענד אלנטר צווי כאלמכתוב). A principle is here expressed, of the range of which Saadiah himself was perhaps not conscious.

The fragment edited by Schechter (*Saadyana*, No. IX) must also belong to the *Kitab al-tamjiz*¹. In this fragment Saadiah adduces various passages in *Rosh ha-Shanah* as a support for his theory of the great age of the calculation of the calendar, e. g. from Mishna, I, 9, which shows that often witnesses arrived after the lapse of a whole night and a whole day, so that their declaration could not be of influence any more on the fixing of the new month. The object of the observation, therefore, was only to support the calculation (see *Saadyana*, p. 33, l. 1 : *... פהרה דלאיל ביינה* : ואנחה אן טלבתהם ללקמר ואשעאלהם וארסאלהם אנמא הו אלביאן [לביאן read] אלחץ ונחה אלדלאיל אלדי כאנ[ו] יעטוהא פי תחקיק אלחסאב (אלץ), a well-known favourite hypothesis of Saadiah. The earlier Karaites, on the other hand, forged a weapon against the Fayyumite out of the data in *Rosh ha-Shanah*, I-II.

P. 245, n. 3. The passage from Moses b. Ezra is now known in the Arabic original, and here also we read: *... פי כתאב אלחמיו פי רדה עלי בן סאקיה*, see *supra*, p. 6, n. 3.

P. 252, l. 22 seq. On the *כתאב אלרד עלי אבן סאקיה* (so read line 24 instead of סקיה), of which several fragments of the Arabic original have likewise now been discovered, see *supra*, No. 2. On the passage cited by Mebasser respecting the controversy between R. Meir and the sages, see also *Z.f.H.B.*, IV, 21 (where in n. 3 instead of *J. Q. R.*, X, 852, read 252).

¹ As I have observed subsequently, there is here a gap between leaf 2 and 3 of the MS. Natan b. Isaac al-Siqili seems to have compiled a work for the support of tradition in general and that of the great age of the 'Tbbur in particular, and for this object to have included the first chapter (אלמקאדה אלאיל) of the *כראב אלהייו* in his work or compilation (my *Schechter's Saadyana*, p. 16, s. v. Natan, is therefore to be corrected).

P. 254, l. 19 seq. This polemical work of Saadiah is mentioned in a list of books from the end of the twelfth century as כתאב אלרד עלי מתחאמל, and in another of uncertain date as אלרד עלי אלמתחמל. In both places, therefore, the mysterious word היום is missing (see my *Schechter's Saadyana*, p. 23, no. 24). The passage from Nissim's מגלת סתרים is really taken from the anonymous ספר החיים, and is again printed in Jellinek's קונטרס תרי"ג, p. 46 (cf. also his קונטרס הרמב"ם, first edition, p. 29, and Steinschneider, l.c., p. 65, n. 13). The quotations in Jehuda b. Barzillai's *Ješira* commentary originate perhaps rather from the polemical work against Ibn Sâqaweihi, see *supra*, p. 6, n. 7.

P. 255, l. 27 seq. On Ben Zuta, see *supra*, No. 1.

P. 256, l. 4 from bottom. Verbal examples of Saadiah's anti-Karaite Polemic in his commentary on the Pentateuch have now been supplied by Harkavy (directed against 'Anân, see הנון, VI, pp. 38-40), and by Hirschfeld. The latter has printed from the Geniza two fragments: on Exod. xxxv. 3, and on Lev. xi. 11-21 (*J. Q. R.*, XVIII, 600 seq.; XIX, 136 seq.). In the first fragment, which contains an extensive polemic on לא תבערו, the following passage is especially interesting (p. 607, l. 7): ומנהם מן תעלק עלינא בטריק אלקיאם פאתנה פי זהאח : שחי פאלמקדם אולא אבטאל אלקיאם פי אלשראיע אלסמעיה ודלך במא ררדת בה עלי מדעייה פי אלכתאב אלדי אלפת לה (p. 600, n. 3) sees here the title of a book composed by Saadiah against the application of Analogy in traditional laws, identifies it with an elsewhere cited כתאב אלקיאם עלי, would here amend אלקיאם to אלקיאם אלסמעיה (and also apparently פי עלי to פי), and would insert אבטאל. But all that Saadiah says is that a Karaite, in order to establish the prohibition (Exod. xxxv. 3) according to Karaite views, had relied on the method of Analogy, but that in a work which he had written against this Karaite (probably 'Anân) he had opposed the application of this method in traditional laws. There is thus no reference here to a special work against the method of Analogy. Anyhow, it follows from this passage that it has been

wrongly ascribed to Jefet, and therefore my own conclusion (*supra*, p. 21) must be corrected. In the fragment on Leviticus, Saadiah is throughout controverting 'Anân, as Hirschfeld rightly says. Saadiah does not name him, but indicates him as בעץ אלמחרתין (fol. 1^{vo}, l. 16; fol. 4^{vo}, l. 14), הוא אלרול (fol. 2^{ro}, l. 15; *ibid.*^{vo}, l. 3; fol. 5^{ro}, l. 17), and also הוא אלמברע (fol. 4^{vo}, l. 18). All the opinions here opposed are from other sources known to be 'Anân's. Thus besides the prohibition against eating fish which one of another religion has caught (see the proof by Hirschfeld, XIX, 138), there are also the following prohibitions: (1) to touch dead fish and birds; see his ספר המצות, ed. Harkavy, p. 66; (2) to eat dead fish, see *Z. f. H. B.*, IV, p. 74, and above, p. 10; (3) to eat hens, see above, p. 56 (where the words of Saadiah entirely agree with the foregoing); and (4) to eat any birds except pigeons, with reference to Gen. viii. 20, see ספר המצות, p. 67.

P. 257, l. 19. Besides in the commentary on the Pentateuch, Saadiah also disputes with the Karaites in the commentary on Proverbs: for the passages see Heller, *R. É. J.*, XXXVII, 229-30 (the passage on xxx. 10-17 must also be added, which Saadiah likewise refers to the opponents of tradition, who "calumniate the servants," i. e. the prophets, and those who follow them, before "their Lord," i. e. God, inasmuch as they characterize their tradition as falsehood. Verse 10 is especially directed against these calumniators).

Ibid., l. 2 from bottom. That Saadiah with the קום ממן באליהוריה יתסמון aims at the Karaites was doubted by Horovitz (*Die Psychologie des Saadia*, Breslau, 1898, pp. 69-70) and Schreiner (*Z. f. H. B.*, III, 90), but without justification; see *ibid.*, p. 176, n. 22.

P. 259, l. 3. In his commentary on the thirteen rules of R. Ishmael perhaps Saadiah also followed, however, an anti-Karaite tendency; cf. *R. É. J.*, XLVII, 136.

Ibid., l. 8. Cf. my *Zur jüd.-arab. Litter.*, p. 42, where I conjectured, *inter alia*, that a passage from this work

is quoted in the fragment *Saadyana*, ed. Schechter, no. XVI. We here find that the persons with whom cohabitation is subject to limitations are to be divided into seven ascending degrees (p. 44, l. 17: קאל רבינו סעדיה גאון מחס[י] ה: נב"ע אלאנסאם אלמחטור גשיאנהא וכל ואחר אנעב מן אלאכר והי סכעה [סבעה] אלך as follows: (1) harlots; (2) those despoiled of virginity; (3) relatives (twenty-eight in number, twenty according to scripture, eight according to tradition); (4) married women; (5) women in menstruation; (6) heathen women; and (7) sodomites¹. Similarly Hirschfeld edited a Geniza fragment (*J. Q. R.*, XVII, 713 seq.) and rightly proved that it belongs to Saadiah's work on "forbidden marriages." Here allusion is actually made to the "heretics" (אלכוארג), who stand in opposition to "us, the entire body of Rabbanites" (נחן נמיע ארבונין), p. 717, ll. 15, 26). There ought, therefore, to be no doubt any longer about the existence of this work of the Gaon.

Ibid., l. 23. A כתאב תחציל is also mentioned in a book-list of the end of the twelfth century; it is probably Saadiah's work of the same name. See *J. Q. R.*, XIII, 328; *R. É. J.*, XL, 87. But the Geniza fragment edited by Hirschfeld (*J. Q. R.*, XVII, 721 seq.) belongs not to the כתאב אלאשראיע of Saadiah, but consists of a portion of his *Amanât*, cf. *ibid.*, XVIII, 146.

P. 260, l. 7 seq. On the כתאב אלתאריך see also my *Schechter's Saadyana*, p. 23, no. 23, and Bacher, *R. É. J.*, XLIX, 298.

P. 261, l. 2 from bottom. Read MS. Heb. e 45 (Cat. Bodl., vol. II, No. 2787¹).

Ibid., n. 2. On the נקוד רב סעדיה quoted by Rashi on Ps. xlv. 10, cf. also Bacher, *Die Anfänge d. hebr. Grammatik*, p. 60, n. 2, and Steinschneider, *Vorlesungen über d. Kunde hebr. Handschriften*, p. 15.

P. 263, l. 14. In the commentary on Job xii. 7 (*Œuvres*,

¹ Cf. an analogous classification with regard to the marriage law, of which Jacob b. Ephraim is the author, in my monograph on the latter, pp. vii, xviii (= *Kaufmann-Gedenkschrift*, pp. 175, 186).

Sabbath, § 3 beginning), and Simson of Sens (see *R. É. J.*, VII, 41); in Italy, Aaron Abulrabi (in his commentary on Deut. xxv. 4; cf. *R. É. J.*, XXI, 253), &c. The polemics of these writers, however, are only of an incidental character; with the exception of the author of the anonymous little work just mentioned, none of them composed a special controversial treatise, unless we are to consider as such the work of a Turkish Rabbi of last century, Solomon Kimḥi, entitled *מלאכת שלמה* (printed 1862). The author here endeavoured to show that the Karaites are to be considered as beasts, that it is forbidden to instruct them in the Torah, and that it is permitted to kill them. These statements were so monstrous that every copy of the work that could be seized was consigned to the flames by order of the Haham Bashi, Yakir Geron, in Constantinople. See Franco, *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1897), pp. 171, 172, and *Jew. Encycl.*, s.v. (VII, 497).

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Pages 6-7 (comp. p. 96). The anti-Karaite Fragments of Saadiah, edited by Harkavy (*J. Q. R.*, XIII, 656), which are nearly all directed against Ibn Sâqaweihi, have been printed for a second time, with a Hebrew translation, in **הקדם**, I, 65 seqq.

P. 14. On the struggle between the Shammaites and Hillelites, reported in the *Yerushalmi*, see my article in **הקדם**, I, 39. On Salmon's Commentary to *Koheleth*, see also *Monatsschrift*, LI, 718 seqq.

P. 21, foot (comp. p. 97). The citation from *Jefet* (on *Exod.* xxxv. 3) made by Pinsker may, it now appears, be a quotation from Saadiah.

P. 39, foot. The assumption of the older Karaites that *Deut.* xviii. 10, forbade the fixation of months and feasts perhaps arose under the influence of Islam. The *Koran* (ix. 37) makes intercalation a heresy. Compare *Albirûni's Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, ed. Sachau, p. 12 (translation, p. 14).

P. 42. To the Karaites who had connexion with Saadiah in the eleventh century must be added the Jerusalem Grammarian (**המדרקק הירושלמי**) Abu-l-Faraj Harûn b. al-Faraj, who unquestionably knew and used Saadiah's works. See my essay on him (*Paris*, 1896), p. 18, and my further citations from his writings in *R. É. J.*, April, 1908.

P. 48. Some parts of the chief philosophical work of Joseph al-Baṣīr (the **כתאב אלמחתי**) have recently been published as Doctorate-Dissertations with a Hungarian translation. The parts published include chapter xxiii (with excerpts from chs. xix, xxii, and xxiv), ed. Goldberger (*Buda Pesth*, 1906); chs. xxv-xxix, ed. Bände (Ráczeke, 1906), and ch. xxxiv, ed. Horovitz (*Buda Pesth*, 1905). But Saadiah is not quoted in any of these. On al-Baṣīr compare further the article in *R. É. J.*, cited in preceding note.

P. 52. A part of Jeshu'a's long Commentary on Numbers, in a Hebrew recension, is perhaps contained in the Leyden MS., Warner 26³ (Cat. Steinschneider, p. 111). Here, as in **בראשית רבה**, the paragraphs begin **אם אמר** and only the oldest Karaites are quoted: viz. 'Anân, Benjamin al-Nahawendi, Daniel al-Kumisi and Joseph al-Basîr.

P. 79, top. The citations from Abu-l-Faraj Harûn, which are contained in this compilation from Deuteronomy I have collected in my article, *R. É. J.*, 1. c. Abu-l-Faraj is here described as **פֶּה**.

P. 81. On Samuel al-Magribi's **אלמרשר**, section II, ed. Weisz, and section VII, ed. Lorge, see my review in *J. Q. R.*, April, 1908.

P. 86. I have now before me a modern copy of Elia b. Baruch's **עשרה מאמרות**. This copy belongs to Samuel Neeman (**נאמן**), a Karaite ḥazzan in Eupatoria. In the introduction he speaks of the prohibition **לֹא תבערו** and he has a long passage against Saadiah which I now quote in full:

. . . פירוש שני פירש הבודה סעדיא הפיתומי ואת הישר עקש והוא נגד דקרוק הלשון ומהות הענין כי אמר שמלת לא תבערו איש הוא מענין ובערת הרע מקרבך וירצה לומר לפי שיבוש דעתו שלא ישמידו האיש ממושבותיהם ביום השבת אבל ישאירוהו בביתם ובמושבותם. והנה האיש הזה הוכה בסנורים ולא חשש מהמלות הסמוכות כי מהמלות הסמוכות יודע פירוש הענין ולא הקפיד לראות היטב שמלת בכל באה בבי"ת ואם הוא לפי דעתו המשובשת לשון השמדה היה לבוא מלת כל במ"ם והיה ראוי להיות ככה לא תבערו איש מכל מושבותיכם ביום השבת כאשר באו האחרים שהזכיר במ"ם תשביתו שאור מבתיכם וכן ובערת הרע מקרבך. ומלת איש תורה שהוא לשון בעור והדלקה וכן באו הכל בבי"ת והנה הסנה בוער באש וכן כפשתים אשר בערו באש. והנה הוא דבר פשוט ונגלה אצל בעלי הלשון ותינוקות של בית רבן יודעים זה אך זה בער מאיש רצה לשבש הלשון ולהחליף הענין כדי להיות לו סמך לתעתועיו ונפל במהמורות כל יקום כי כל רואה דברים זרים כהם ילעיגו לו. וככה פירש כמה ענינים בפירושים זרים כדי להשוות הרברים לפי מעשיו והכחיש דברים כתובים במשנה ובתלמוד ורצה לעזר עיני בני עמו וראוי לו לומר העיני האנשים ההם תנקר וחשב לחדש פירושים חדשים שברה מלבו ולעמוד נגד דקרוק הלשון ולעלות בסלם החכמה ונגלתה ערותו עליו. וככה יקרה לכל יוצא מפשטי הכתובים יודע קלונו וישא עונו.

The explanation of לא תבערו "ye shall not destroy" is also combated, e. g. by Aaron b. Elia (*Gan Eden*, fol. 28 c). In the last-mentioned place the author of this explanation is not given as Saadiah, but as "one who strays" (ומדברי תועה שאמר שהוא לשון) (השמרה וכו'). It is possible, however, that Saadiah is meant. The concluding words of Elia (ולעלות בסלם ההכמה וכו') are modelled on Ibn Ezra's remark to Exodus xx. 23, though that remark is directed against the Karaite Ben Zuṭa. Mr. Neeman also possesses a copy of Elia b. Baruch's צרור המור; and the well-known מאמרות עשרה, as well as another writing of Elia, entitled ילקוט, are to be found in a MS. of Samuel Pigit, Karaite ḥazzan in Ekaterinoslav (see המליץ, 1888, no. 243).

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